FBIS DAILY REPORT
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'FRESH RESERVES' ARRIVE AS SOYUZ-81 CONTINUES

Naval, Air Maneuvers

LD031508 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1245 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Berlin, 3 Apr (ADN)--During the command staff exercise Soyuz-81 today, Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of defense was with units of the People's Navy. On board the flagship Rostock of the People's Navy, he took part in military operations by assault and covering forces, which were supported by naval air units of the Soviet Baltic Fleet and by fighter pilots of the National People's Army [NVA].

Together with the defense minister, his deputies Col Gen Heinz Kessler, Col Gen Fritz Streletz, Col Gen Wolfgang Reinhold and Adm Wilhelm Ehm and the representative of the commander in chief of the joint forces of the Warsaw Treaty members states in the NVA, Army Gen Ivan Shavrov, witnessed the high standard of training and precision of the comrades in arms.

At the beginning of the exercise, Adm Wilhelm Ehm, deputy defense minister and chief of the People's Navy, explained the situation and gave a briefing on his battle plan. After the naval squadron of the People's Navy, with the defense minister, reached the open sea, small torpedo boats approached at speed from starboard. On board were People's Navy frogmen, who sprang from the boats into the wake while traveling at a high speed, in order to carry out their special tasks reliably. As in the brotherhood-in-arms 8 maneuvers, this aspect of the exercise demonstrated their versatile training, in which heavy physical and mental demands are made on each of them.

Shortly after this, the squadron, with the defense minister on board, was safely escorted by minesweepers through a sector of the sea that had been mined by the "enemy." During this operation mine-detecting equipment was used. From the northeast, modern tactical aircraft of the naval air units of the Soviet Baltic Fleet approached, carrying out strikes against enemy warships. Particularly impressive was the precisely coordinated action of the Soviet naval airmen, who had taken off from distant bases, with the assault forces of the People's Navy.

Immediately afterwards, high-speed missile-carrying boats of the People's Navy attacked the enemy warships. They were followed by motor torpedo boats of various types, which also used their weapons effectively. These high-speed boats of the People's Navy carried out their mission, as so often before, alongside the Soviet and Polish comrades-in-arms, always with excellent results. So far, all missile launches by the high-speed missile boats have been assessed as "very good."

Fighter-bombers of the NVA and helicopter gunships of the GDR People's Navy supported the operations by the naval forces.

From starboard, antisubmarine helicopters approached and dropped hydroacoustic buoys for the location of enemy submarines. The helicopter crews directed antisubmarine ships to the underwater target by radio. The commander of the submarine search-and-destroy unit gave the order for the attack on the "enemy" submarine. Seconds later, large, self-propelled depth charges exploded in the target area.

Sailors of the coastal protection vessels then demonstrated effective defense against enemy aircraft with their light, electronically-controlled guns, which have a high rate of fire and great accuracy.

After the operations, Army General Hoffmann, his deputies and Army General Shavrov held cordial conversations with sailors, petty officers, midshipmen and officers.

The commander of the coastal protection vessel Rostock, Cmdr Guenter Senf, reported on the exemplary results in the command staff exercise Soyuz-81. Just a few days ago the crew, alongside their Soviet and Polish comrades-in-arms, had distinguished themselves in the location and destruction of enemy submarines. Seven times already the proven military team has won the title "best ship" in socialist competition.

Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann praised the exemplary performance of the members of the People's Navy, alongside the comrades-in-arms, as a worthy contribution in the great popular initiative for the 10th SED Congress. The fighting power and combat readiness that has just been demonstrated, he said, testified that they were doing their utmost to fulfill their tasks in their first year of training in an exemplary manner. This was the appropriate class answer to the attacks of the militaristic circles of NATO, above all in the United States and in the FRG, against socialism and peace.

Seen from this point of view, the results achieved so far by the comrades-in-arms in Soyuz-81 had a high political value as well as military value. They showed the most aggressive circles of imperialism the limits of their power and gave fresh impulses to the progressive forces in their struggle for peace and social progress, fully in the spirit of the peace initiatives of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The impressive day of exercises at sea ended with the helicopters and missile and motor torpedo boats that had taken part in the operations flying and sailing to a new theater of operations in Soyuz-81.

Fresh Reserves

LD051149 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1102 GMT 5 Apr 81

["Soyuz-81 Combat Readiness--Soyuz-81 Demonstrates High Level of Combat Readiness"--ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin, 5 Apr (ADN)--The operations during the Soyuz-81 command and staff exercise demonstrate the high level of combat readiness of the allied armies to defend peace and socialism. The operations were marked at the weekend by the bringing up of fresh reserves from the heart of their own territory. Covered by air defense, troops, motorized infantry, tank, missile, artillery, reconnaisance, pioneer and communications units were redeployed by rail or on column marches to their destinations as were other forces on the coast by landing craft. The commanders organized with their staffs the rapid introduction of the new forces.

In the areas where they were concentrated and at the departure areas, the members of the army were given a political and military briefing on the forthcoming combat task. At field meetings and at meetings with the comrades-in-arms from the Soviet "neighboring regiment," the brothers-in-arms declared their determination to do everything within their strength to reliably protect socialist achievements and the peaceful life of citizens against any attack by imperialism.

In the central area of the GDR the token troops taking part in the command staff exercise repelled in a combat maneuver a counterattack by motorized units of the assumed enemy. Thanks to the circumspect actions of the reconnaissance forces, the intentions of the enemy were recognized in good time and the main efforts of the troops were concentrated in decisive directions and a breakthrough by the aggressor was therefore thwarted.

1 APRIL EVENTS AT BCP CONGRESS HALL REPORTED

DPRK Delegate's Address

AU051825 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Greetings address by Pak Song-chol, DPRK Korean Worker's Party (KWP) Central Committee Politburo member and vice president, at the 1 April morning session of the 12th BCP Congress in Sofia--live, in Korean, with superimposed Bulgarian translation]

[Text] Dear comrades, please allow me, on behalf of the KWP Central Committee to warmly greet you on the 12th BCP congress and to convey to you, the congress' delegates, and through you to all Bulgarian communists and the entire Bulgarian people, warm and fraternal greetings on behalf of our party members and our people. [applause]

The 12th BCP Congress, which is taking place in an atmosphere of great upsurge and hopes on the part of the Bulgarian communists and people, has a great significance in strengthening and developing the BCP and implementing the tasks of building socialism. We heard with great interest the report of the esteemed Comrade Todor Zhivkov, who spoke on your party's domestic and foreign policy activity, and on your people's achievements, and marked new tenets for your country's development. We are confident that the present congress will mark a new stage in the struggle to build the developed socialist society in your country. [applause]

The BCP, which will mark soon its 90th anniversary, inscribed glorious pages in the sacred struggle for independence and social liberation of the country. [applause] The Bulgarian communists and people conducted a continuous and firm struggle against the foreign occupiers, and during the difficult period of World War II fought against the Hitlerite fascists and internal reaction with weapons in their hands. They liberated their country and firmly took the government in their hands. Continuing the great cause of Georgi Dimitrov and under the leadership of the BCP, the industrious Bulgarian people in a brief period turned their once backward country into a socialist state with modern industry and developed agriculture.

Rallied around the BCP Central Committee, headed by the respected Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the Bulgarian people successfully implemented the tasks set by the 11th BCP Congress and thereby achieved great progress in economic and cultural construction and elevated material and spiritual life to a new level.

The DPRK party and people highly value the successes of the fraternal BCP and Bulgarian people, sincerely rejoice at these successes and wish you from the bottom of their hearts further and bigger successes in the further work of implementing the decisions of the current congress. [applause]

Comrades, the DPRK and our people, under the wise leadership of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song, and under the banner of the chuche ideas, vigorously struggled for independence, sovereignty and socialism. They guaranteed the victorious march of the difficult and complex Korean revolution, and in a short period radically changed the situation and position of our motherland and nation. Today our party members and the entire working people, rallied around the party Central Committee and fully committed to the great program of building communism adopted by the historic 6th KWP Congress, are vigorously implementing the ideological, technological and cultural revolution. Our people, who in the past, for 36 years [as received] experienced various sufferings under the colonial supremacy of Japanese imperialism, has for 36 years experienced the tragedy of national division. Because of the machinations of the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppets, today the danger of a permanent split between our people and a new war is increasing. To repulse the foreign forces and unify our divided motherland is the most urgent task confronting our party and people. This issue also has great significance in defending peace and security in Asia and throughout the world. [applause]

Our people fully accepted the proposal to create a democratic confederative Republic of Koryo, made by the respected and beloved leader Kim Il-song at the 6th KWP Congress. Uniting the forces of the entire nation we shall drive the U.S. troops out of South Korea and will implement the historic unification of the motherland. [applause] I take this opportunity to express our deep gratitude for the steady and active support rendered by the BCP and the Bulgarian people to our people in their struggle for the independent and peaceful unification of the motherland. [applause]

The present international situation is very complex and tense because of the aggressive acts and militarist machinations of the imperialists. The Reagan administration is even more aggressive and bellicose than any preceding U.S. administration. It is making an overt advance against communism, striving for world dominance, is preparing a new war and is initiating a furious arms race. The United States is constantly staging coups, conducting subversive activity and rudely interfering throughout the world. The current situation requires from the socialist countries and all anti-imperialist forces to firmly rally and conduct an energetic and common struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. [applause]

The strengthening of the international revolutionary forces and solidarity with them is our party's revolutionary line, to which we consistently adhere. Holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialism and independence, we shall continue to make efforts to achieve unity among the socialist countries and the international communist movement, to rally with the non-aligned countries, the national-liberation movement and all progressive forces throughout the world. We shall continue to conduct an energetic struggle to build a new world, liberated from imperialism and colonialism and all forms of exploitation and oppression.

The KWP and the BCP and the Korean and Bulgarian peoples, who have been connected by strong ties of friendship for a long time as class brothers, are closely cooperating in the struggle to implement common ideals and goals. The meetings between the great leader of our people, Comrade Kim Il-song, and the prominent leader of the Bulgarian people, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, are events of historic significance in further developing in depth the friendly relations between the parties, governments and peoples of the two countries in every area of life. Today cooperation is successfully developing between our parties and peoples in various areas of political, economic and cultural life, in the spirit of the agreements reached at these historic meetings.

The DPRK party and people will further make comprehensive efforts to strengthen the relations of solidarity with the BCP and the Bulgarian people, to strengthen the friendship, cohesion and cooperation in the struggle against imperialism for the triumph of the great cause of communism and socialism. [applause]

Long live the eternal and indestructible fraternal friendship and cohesion between the KWP and the BCP and between the Korean and Bulgarian peoples! [applause]

Cuban Delegate's Address

AU032108 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Greetings address by Guillermo Garcia Frias, member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and State Council, delivered at the 1 April morning session of the 12th BCP Congress in Sofia--live, in Spanish with superimposed Bulgarian translation]

[Text] Dear Comrade Todor Zhivkov, Comrade Delegates, Esteemed Guests: With great satisfaction I fulfill the instruction of our Central Committee and the Communists, who together with the entire people are working and ready to defend their motherland, and first of all the instruction of Comrade Fidel Castro, our party's first secretary, to convey our most cordial feelings of friendship and solidarity to you, the delegates of the 12th BCP congress, all communists and the fraternal Bulgarian people. [applause] Your congress is an exceptional opportunity to fulfill this instruction.

The brilliant report read by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the prominent and noted fighter and great Cuban friend, revealed successes which fill us with happiness and pride, because they are a bright expression of the correctness of our teaching and reflect the results of the communists' struggle, who with their practical activity are creating a better world. Today, when we see this wonderful reality, we remember those wonderful people who 90 years ago, together with Dimitur Blagoev, the worthy son of your people, founded the first unit of the Bulgarian Marxists. We also remember the unforgetable Georgi Dimitrov, who by leading the Bulgarian communists and the international communism movement, will always remain in mankind's history. [applause]

In a very short period you changed your country. Underdeveloped agriculture, which was characteristic of Bulgaria during the years before the revolution, is now only a memory. Today we see a developed and effective agriculture on an industrial basis, and a modern and developing industry. Increasing the living and cultural standard of the people, together with accelerated scientific-technical progress, are characteristic of Bulgaria today. The directives on the accelerated development of the economy, as well as the other documents submitted for approval by the congress, include the new goals you set along the road of constructing the developed socialist society. [applause] We do not doubt their successful implementation. These prospects, which are based on the solid basis of what has been done up to now, allow the BCP and the entire people to look forward with a justifiable confidence and to expect the achievement of new successes. [applause] The successes and creative work of the Bulgarian people are a bright contribution to the cause of socialism, which is a great power today. Your beneficial activity in the area of international relations is constantly contributing to strengthening peace in the Balkans, Europe and the world.

When we, communists, draw up the balance sheet of the tasks which have been implemented--as you are doing at this congress--review the successes which have been achieved and the goals which we set for the future, we cannot ignore the serious danger which is threatening mankind today, or the efforts we have to make in order to improve the international situation and relations. The struggle for peace is not only a political goal. It is a precondition of the very existence of mankind.

The struggles of many peoples throughout the world, which we have witnessed in recent years, evoked concern among the world reactionary forces, and first of all among the most aggressive circles of North American imperialism. The new U.S. administration, as a representative of these circles, obviously selected the road of confrontation. The militaristic tone, characteristic of the cold war period, is again being used in the international arena. The process of detente is being neglected and conditions are being created for a new and dangerous stage in the arms race. The doctrine of military superiority is being heralded with unprecedented irresponsibility.

The European Continent is not being excluded from the aggressive intentions of the North American imperialists. They want to deploy new medium-range nuclear missiles on the territory of their allies and are pressuring them to increase their military budgets. This policy of pressure and threats, accompanied by the dangerous intensification of their military presence, is reaching the Indian Ocean, the Middle East and other regions of Asia and South Africa, and is being demonstrated with exceptional force on the American continent. It is not strange that the new imperialist strivings, decorated with old propaganda theses, aim at undermining the authority of the revolutionary movement. They are trying to present every insurrection of peoples aimed at achieving independence, progress and social justice as a result of foreign influence. They define the national liberation struggles as purely terrorist acts. What transpires behind all this is their interventionist plans, aimed against the heroic struggle of the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala. They are openly threatening the Nicaraguan revolution and are not ashamed to overtly express their sympathy with the bloody and corrupted regimes on the Latin American continent. They are throwing away the olive branch with which once they tried to hide the permanent oppression of human rights. The will of peoples who want peace is revolting against imperialism's aggressive policy. Together with them, the invincible forces of socialism represent a fortress of peace and an insurmountable barrier for all the enemies of mankind.

The proposals made by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU congress were positively evaluated by all sensible forces throughout the world. They are proving to be an indisputable truth, which has been confirmed by history: Socialism is the great and omnivictorious defender of peace, and its main guarantee. [applause]

Cuba is also the target of constant threats on the part of those who do not want reconciliation, or to recognize the irreversible reality. They are trying to erase our example by blockades and other practical means. Despite all this, the Cuban people will soon celebrate the 20th anniversary of their historic victory against the aggression of the mercenaries organized by North American imperialism in the Bay of Pigs. With their characteristic firmness, determination and confidence in the future, our people are marking new and great successes in building a new life. Simultaneously, they are ready--if necessary--to defend the motherland by all means. Our people are implementing the slogan "production and defense" promulgated by the second congress of our party.

Dear comrades, during the past years we have seen how the fraternal relations connecting our peoples are strengthening and expanding. We are very proud of this friendship, and express deepest gratitude for the assistance we received from the fraternal Bulgarian people during the first years after our revolution. [applause] We know how much love and selflessness you have invested in the preparations for this congress and the remarkable events you will celebrate this year, in which the Bulgarian people will mark their 1,300th anniversary as a prospering socialist state, whose wonderful people are victoriously marching forward, united around the ideals, goals and policy of the BCP. [applause]

From the bottom of our hearts we wish ouu new and great successes in implementing the resolution and decisions adopted by this congress. They will open a new stage along the road of socialist and communist construction. [applause]

Long live the BCP!

Long live the indestructible friendship between Bulgaria and Cuba! [applause]

Long live proletarian internationalism! [applause]

Long live peace! [prolonged applause]

Aczel Speaks for MSZMP

AU032035 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Speech by Gyorgy Aczel, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, delivered at the 1 April afternoon session of the 12th BCP Congress in Sofia--live, in Hungarian with superimposed Bulgarian translation]

[Text] Esteemed congress, dear comrades, on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, all Hungarian communists and the entire Hungarian people, and with a feeling of respect and fraternal friendship, I greet the 12th BCP Congress. Please allow me to convey the cordial greetings and wishes of Comrade Janos Kadar. [applause]

Our delegation listened with great attention to the report of your party Central Committee, read by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the noted figure of Bulgaria and the international communist and workers' movement. This report evokes great interest towards the experience of the fraternal BCP. [applause] We highly value your achievements and view them as an integral part of the assessment made at your congress. Praise and glory to the consistency, conscientious work and talent of the Bulgarian people! [applause]

The program outlined by Comrade Todor Zhivkov is worthy of these successes. This program presented the wonderful, complex, difficult and great tasks of the future. It is a worthy program because it displays a justifiable confidence, based on your successes. It emanates calm and security.

The development of Bulgaria's economy during the years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan period, which just ended, is also worthy of respect. With the present situation of the world economy and the tension in the world's political relations, caused by the imperialists, these are successes which testify to the Bulgarian people's creative forces, who, under the leadership of their party, have turned communism into their cause. We are confident that our Bulgarian friends will successfully solve the new tasks related to implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. The implementation of these tasks requires energetic work. [applause]

Dear comrades, last year we had our 12th congress. Carefully and profoundly, we analyzed our socioeconomic development, as well as our successes and difficulties, and marked our new tasks and goals. Our entire people received the congress' instructions and decisions as their own program, and are actively working for their implementation. We know very well that the coming years require consistent, conscientious and more precise work, in every aspect. We know that in order to achieve these goals, we have to do more and work better. Our further development will not be easy. However, on the basis of the complete confidence between the party and people, and the national-socialistic unity, constructed during the past 25 years, we can implement our tasks. [applause] The congress' decisions and the new 5-year plan became a national program. We consider the present conditions, which are constantly changing, as very important. The bold initiative, the complete utilization of the possibilities of socioeconomic organizations, the application of the achievements of scientific-technical progress, and the implementation of new ideas are instruments in preserving our economic and social achievements and constructing the basis of our future and dynamic development. We consider the perfection of our society, along the road of widely developing socialist democracy, as an especially important task. Our society will develop in future years so that the constructive energy, the collectives' creativity and the acceleration of socioeconomic progress will remain first-rate priorities. We are convinced that the basic precondition of intensifying our socialist achievements is to increase the people's professional and general culture, and to improve their way of life. [applause] This is the source and purpose of perfecting the human personality and creating the socialist man-creator. [as heard] This is a great task, which requires not only satisfying the present material and spiritual needs, exactly as you do, but also implementing new requirements, worthy of the socialist man. This cannot be reached without sharing our achievements and mutual experience. If we are to solve these major tasks, we must work in unity with the socialist community countries.

The successes of socialist economic integration within the CEMA framework, and the successes in specialization and production sharing, are proof of the possibilities created by our unity and the advantages of our common interests, as well as of the fact that our common interests create new possibilities.

Dear comrades, the socialist community countries are connected by the unity of their basic ideas and goals. We jointly strive to strengthen the international alliance and sincere friendship with the USSR and the socialist countries, including the People's Republic of Bulgaria. [applause] The Warsaw Pact member countries are consistently struggling for the peaceful coexistence of countries with different political systems. This does not mean simply a situation without war. We are struggling for taming the arms race and for developing economic, scientific and cultural cooperation. Busy with our daily worries, we sometimes forget and do not always see that the capitalist world is shaken by profound and unsolvable political, economic and moral problems. The insecurity in the future, inflation, unemployment and spreading of violence and crime testify to this crisis' intensity. The capitalist world was scared by the successes of detente, the achievements of the national liberation movements and the advance of the forces of progress. It initiated a new arms race. Imperialism began a real campaign of slander against the progressive movements and socialist countries. And is kindling new conflicts. To stop all this is in the interest of our peoples and all mankind--this is our task.

Our great advantage is that together with our fraternal parties we can rely on the steady desire of the world nations for peace. [applause] The USSR together with the socialist countries, is doing everything in the interest of mankind. This stems from the fact that for mankind there is no other sensible alternative but peace. We greet and fully support the peaceful proposals made by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress. [applause] Together with the great and elaborate CPSU peace program, these proposals prove that socialism and peace are indivisible. Hundreds of millions of peace-loving people throughout the world, led by a sense of responsibility and care for peace, are expecting the realistically thinking leaders of the capitalist countries to listen to the voice of sober sense and respond to these proposals. [applause] The realities of our epoch must be respected by all.

We think that this also applies to the situation in Poland. We heard Comrade Grabski and his analysis, and we know about the complex and difficult situation which has been created. Once again, we express our solidarity with our Polish comrades. [prolonged applause] Socialism enjoys a large and strong basis in Poland. The wheel of history cannot be turned backwards. We are firmly confident that the forces of communism can correct their mistakes alone and repel the destructive and [word indistinct] attacks of the enemy. The enemy does not aim at correcting mistakes but at defeating socialism. We are confident that the Polish comrades and Polish patriots will repel these attacks, defend their achievements and continue the socialist development and progress of this European country, which has suffered so much. [applause] Now, as in the past and in future, the MSZMP will do everything possible, according to its forces, to strengthen the unity of the socialist community and the international communist and workers' movement. We will continue to the just and heroic struggle of peoples for social independence, freedom and social progress.

Dear comrades, the friendship and relations between the Hungarian and Bulgarian peoples, based on mutual respect, have long traditions, based on the struggle against oppression, for independence and national existence, and for socialism; and on our common historic experience. With all our forces we are supporting and developing our political, economic and scientific-technical cooperation. We are convinced that this serves the interest of the Hungarian and Bulgarian peoples, as well as the interest of the socialist community and our peoples' well-being.

Esteemed comrades, dear Bulgarian friends, the congresses have great significance in the history of our parties. The communist parties' congresses serve the future. These are congresses of peace! Your congress is taking place in a period in which you mark the 1,300th anniversary of your state, and decades of successful construction of socialism. The evaluation made at your congress proves that the People's Republic of Bulgaria has traveled a long way along the road of socialist development. In unity with the fraternal socialist countries the People's Republic of Bulgaria is marching forward, despite the present situation which is full of contradictions. The struggle is difficult, but this great and historic path must be travelled, because socialism is mankind's only hope and future. [prolonged applause]

In conclusion, please allow me, on behalf of the MSZMP and the entire Hungarian working people, to wish the 12th BCP Congress great successes in implementing its decisions. Long live the BCP! [applause] Long live the fraternal friendship between the Hungarian and Bulgarian peoples! Long live socialism and peace! [prolonged applause]

Comparison of Yugoslav Speech

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 2 April on page six carries a TANJUG report on the speech by Svetozar Durutovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, delivered at the 1 April session of the 12th BCP Congress. A version of the speech processed from Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian appears on page C 6 of the 2 April Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT. The BORBA version has been compared to the Sofia Radio version and has been found to contain the following variations:

On page C 7, the first two lines of the fourth paragraph are replaced with: "The present complicated situation in the world offers serious reasons for our concern, Durutovic continued. The hotbeds of crises, which are numerous now, are constantly multiplying; the arms race continues with unabated intensity; and many unsolved international economic and political problems are piling up.

"In such a complicated world situation the struggle for peace, international cooperation on an equal footing, alleviation of tension, and for independence and free development of all..."

In the BORBA version, the first two lines of the fifth paragraph on the same page are replaced with:

"Socialism has become a world process which is marked by a multitude of various experiences and roads in the struggle for socialism and building socialism in the several countries. Practice has shown that a consistent respect for the principles of equality, autonomy, independence, consideration for different roads in the struggle for socialism..."

EVENTS AT 3 APRIL SESSION OF CONGRESS REPORTED

AU031612 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1300 GMT on 3 April 1981 carries a live relay from the Sofia "Palace of Culture" on the plenary session of the 12th BCP Congress. The session is chaired by Ivan Mikhaylov, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee, who opens the eighth session of the congress.

At 1304 GMT, the floor is given to Aleksandur Fol, minister of education. He speaks on problems of general education and vocational training, and on the recent educational reform in Bulgaria. He dwells on "intellectualization" of the education processes. Aleksandur Fol praises cooperation with the Soviet Union in the education sector and supports the peace-loving Soviet foreign policy.

At 1315 GMT the floor is given to Penka Dikova, worker and secretary of the basic party organization at the Elprom factory in Lovech. She deals with problems of her factory and working achievements. She praises the advantages of applying the new economic mechanism in her factory. She is happy about the proposal of changing the party statute and thinks that "the highly esteemed" leader Todor Zhivkov would be the most suitable candidate for the post of "general secretary" of the party.

At 1326 GMT the floor is given to Sava Dulbokov, deputy chairman of the fatherland front National Council. He also pays tribute to Todor Zhivkov for his contribution to the April plenum policy, which had a beneficial effect on the development of the fatherland front movement. He deals with questions of direct democracy and recommends that "we should listen ever more to the people's proposals." Dulbokov describes activities of the fatherland front in various fields of economic and social life, in international activities and in the struggle for peace.

At 1341 GMT the floor is given to Aleksandur Petkov, manager of the agro-industrial complex in Silistra Okrug. He describes the achievements of the Dobrudzha area and of his complex in particular, as well as the application of scientific achievements in practical agricultural activities.

At 1355 GMT the floor is given to Sherlin Mitchel, member of the Political Executive Committee of the U.S. Communist Party Central Committee. She speaks on the "antihuman character" of the new administration, which has cut down all expenditures for the state budget, except those for rearmament. She speaks on the method of "big lie" of the new administration, which is supporting fascist and terrorist regimes all over the world. She expresses gratitude to BCP for the support of the American people's struggle.

At 1405 GMT the floor is given to Niqula ash-Shawi, chairman of the Lebanese Communist Party. He praises Bulgarian achievements under socialism. He dwells on the unity of the workers and communist movement, and speaks against the Zionists and U.S. imperialists and their actions in the Middle East. He appeals for the liquidation of military bases in the Middle East and Persian Gulf area as a prerequisite for the settlement of the Middle East problem. Ash-Shawi also dwells on the situation in his country where reactionary forces are trying to establish fascism with the "active support of the United States." He describes the cooperation of his party with all progressive forces in Lebanon and Syria in order to prevent fascism in Lebanon.

At 1416 GMT the floor is given to Mario Birardi, secretary of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) Central Committee. He dwells on traditional friendship between the BCP and PCI. He describes the situation of his party and in his country. The Italian delegate deals with his party's efforts for better conditions in his country and for peace and detente in international politics. His party supports a meeting between Brezhnev and Reagan for settling problems. He expresses concern about the "situation in Poland" and hopes the Polish comrades may "overcome their difficulties." Dealing with the "line of his party" as regards construction of socialism in his country, he states that it follows the policy of Gramsci and Togliatti in adapting socialism to the "existing realities," to "the historical conditions of each country" and to the degree of consciousness of the people in each country.

At 1425 GMT the floor in given to Karl Reiter, Politburo member of the Austrian Communist Party Central Committee. He states that on all ideological questions the two parties, the BCP and KPOE, agree. Reiter dwells on the mission of neutral countries in international affairs, in the struggle against nuclear weapons, and so forth. The struggle against neofascism in Austria is one of the main tasks of his party, he says. Despite the fact that Austria, economically, is one of the most stable capitalist countries, it is also threatened by crisis and unemployment, Reiter states. He is gratified at the good economic and cultural relations of his country with Bulgaria and other socialist countries. Reiter welcomes revolution in Afghanistan and blames imperialist forces and counterrevolution in that country for existing "difficulties." He does not mention Poland.

At 1436 GMT the floor is given to Jorge Rebelo, member of the Permanent Political Committee and secretary of the FRELIMO Central Committee. He praises the BCP's solidarity with the people of Mozambique against permanent imperialist aggressions. He expresses support for all peoples fighting for freedom, who are not afraid of the increasing aggressiveness of imperialism. He closes by praising Bulgaria and the heroic Bulgarian people. He also congratulates Zhivkov on his 70th birthday. He presents a greetings message from his party to the BCP.

At 1450 GMT the floor is given to Georgi Shishkov, chairman of the Sofia Okrug Party Control and Auditing Committee. He dwells on Sofia Okrug achievements, praising the exchange of membership cards as a progressive and positive measure. He approves the elimination of people from party ranks who have proved unworthy. He dwells on conditions for party membership, which not only includes ideological qualities but also professional qualifications and active contribution to socialist construction. He expresses various recommendations for improving the work of the local party control organs.

At 1503 GMT Ivan Mikhaylov announces a 30-minute recess.

Sofia Domestic Service resumes the live relay from the Sofia Palace of Culture at 1530 GMT. The session is chaired by Peko Takov.

At 1533 GMT the floor is given to Zvetana Maneva, meritorious actress and National Assembly deputy. She speaks on behalf of the Bulgarian theater workers and on behalf of the "generation born in freedom." She notes the beneficial effect of the April plenum on theater development overcoming "vulgar sociologism." She praises Zhivkov for his interest in theater, and dwells on the necessity of correct, constructive criticism, as well as problems of the theater, its management and creative tasks.

At 1545 GMT the floor is given to Nikolay Georgiev, from the Ministry of Machine Building, chairman of the Committee on Transportation attached to the ministry. He speaks on development of his branch of industry especially since the April plenum, and points out certain shortcomings.

At 1558 GMT the floor is given to the delegate of the El Salvador Communist Party, Secretary General Shafick Jorge Handal. He expresses gratitude to the Bulgarian people, the USSR and other socialist countries for fraternal solidarity with the people of El Salvador. He discribes the situation in his country and in Central America. Part of his speech is indistinct. He speaks on American imperialism and on the peaceful CPSU Congress proposals. He expresses confidence that U.S. "aggressive plans" will be foiled by progressive forces throughout the world.

At 1610 GMT Takov gives the floor to Lars Werner, chairman of the Swedish Left Party-Communists, who remembers Georgi Dimitrov and proceeds further on international issues, especially the aggravation of tension in the world and the need to liquidate foreign military bases, as well as on the struggle against rearmament, including the abolition of nuclear and conventional weapons. He speaks against NATO nuclear strategy and appeals to make northern Europe a nuclear-free zone. He denounces Reagan and the policy of "genocide" promoted by U.S. military advisers in certain Latin American countries. He supports independent development of each nation along the path it chooses without interference from abroad.

At 1618 GMT the floor is given to C.K. Chandrapan, the delegate of the Indian Communist Party, who speaks, on the abolition of foreign military bases, and denounces Pakistan. He expresses support for all freedom-loving peoples fighting for their independence. The Indian delegate expresses gratitude to Bulgaria for its assistance to India.

At 1627 GMT the floor is given to (Julian Matez Paulo-Dino Matros), Politburo member and Central Committee secretary of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, MPLA. He dwells on the situation in his country and denounces the South African regime and its provocations against Angola. He denounces imperialism throughout the world. He thanks Cuba and the USSR for assistance to his country.

At 1635 GMT the floor is given to Fernando Soto, member of the Spanish Communist Party Central Committee Executive Committee, who speaks on the recent coup attempt in Spain and his party's approach to the problem. He dwells on the economic crisis in Western Europe, on the intensification of terrorism, on the international situation which is influenced by North American imperialism, and the struggle of his party against NATO. Other progressive parties and movements in Spain join this protest, he says. The Spanish delegate speaks on the participation of his party in Spanish public affairs and the conditions for this participation.

At 1645 GMT the floor is given to (Ib Noerlund), Politburo member of the Danish Communist Party Central Committee. He speaks in Danish with superimposed translation and describes the heavy economic crisis in his country. He blames the imperialists for using anticommunism and anti-Sovietism as their most powerful weapon. The Danish delegate also dwells on recent meetings of European communist parties, such as those in Paris and Berlin.

He thinks that conditions are ripe for a new international meeting of communists from all over the world, and supports the idea about establishing a nuclear-free zone.

At 1655 GMT Peko Takov declares the session closed, and makes the following announcement: "After the closing of this session, the auxiliary organs of the congress will continue their work in the following order: The committee on the resolution about the accountability report of the BCP Central Committee and on the theses of the 12th BCP Congress will be in session in hall No 9, the committee on amendment and addenda to the party statute will be in session in hall No 4, the committee on personal complaints and requests in hall No 6. The next session of the congress will take place tomorrow morning at 0700 GMT. I close the session."

April Plenum Resolution

AU031409 Sofia BTA in English 1305 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Sofia, 3 Apr (BTA)--The 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party approved a resolution prompted by the 25th anniversary of the April plenum of the CC of the BCP of 1956.

"The April plenum has played a historic role in the development of the Communist Party and of the socialist society in Bulgaria, it is, literally, an extraordinary event in our history."

Noting that the April plenum has restored the Leninist principles and norms of party life and laid the beginning of the April party line, the document reads: "The April plenum and the April line of the party formed by it were objectively grounded and necessary. The personality cult, alien to Marxism-Leninism, to the socialist society and the BCP, was condemned and denied. Conditions and guarantees were established for consistent observance of the Leninist principles and norms in social and party life and work.... The political system and management of society was improved. The leading role, the leading efficiency and leading activity of the party was raised to a qualitatively higher level."

The April line of the BCP--this is Marxism-Leninism in action under the specific conditions in Bulgaria, the live unity and interaction between the creatively developing theory of scientific socialism and the concrete socio-historical practice of the working class and the broad masses in the construction and development of socialism in Bulgaria", is said further in the document.

It is noted that the party programme for the construction of the developed socialist society is the concentrated expression of the ideological, theoretical and political essence, level and contribution of the BCP in the April period.

The strongest proofs of the correctness and historic significance of the April line are the enormous successes, the deep quantitative and qualitative changes in the material and spiritual development of Bulgaria in the past 25 years, the resolution reads further.

The resolution reads in part: "On the day of the 25th anniversary of the April line the Bulgarian Communist Party is facing the working class, the Bulgarian people, the international communist movement, with a worthy countdown viewed equally from the successes achieved in the previous period, from the present internal and international situation of Bulgaria, and from the prospects for tomorrow."

Further on in the document a review is made of the achievements in all spheres of Bulgaria's material and intellectual development in the last 25 years. Stress is laid on the stepped up industrialization of the country, the deep structural changes in the industry, the radical changes in agriculture. "The April line can be assessed as a line of linking the achievements of techno-scientific revolution with the advantages of the socialist social system a line of technological progress, of modernization and updating, of a saltatory growth of labour efficiency, of raising the quality and effectiveness of production.

It is pointed out that the rapid economic development of the country has not been and is not an end in itself. The April line has established in the practice of socialist planning and is steadily translating into life the motto "everything in the name of man, everything to the benefit of man".

It is pointed out that the task set by the 12th congress of transition from extensive to primarily intensive development of the national economy is a new stage in Bulgaria's economic development, which will offer possibilities for solving the main socio-economic task defined by the congress: further complex and still fuller meeting of the growing intellectual and material needs of the people.

The resolution reviews the fruitful role of the April line for the development of the Bulgarian science, of artistic culture and education.

The profound progressive changes which have occurred in the party development and activity are also elaborated on.

Three major factors which made possible the historic gains are pointed in the resolution: "the correct policy, the correct ideological and party leadership, and enormous organizing work of the party; selfless creative work and creativity of the free and talented Bulgarian people; the fraternal assistance of the great Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the cooperation with the communist parties, with the peoples and progressive forces the world over."

The document reads further: "With profound recognition the congress estimates as extraordinary the personal merits and the personal contribution of Mr Todor Zhivkov, who has been heading the CC of the party for the third decade now, in the creating, developing and fulfillment of the April line."

The document also emphasizes the never-ending growing of Bulgaria's role and authority in international life, typical of the years after the April plenum.

In conclusion the resolution reads: "The main conclusion the 12th congress is making is that the April line is correct, life-tested line of the party.

This is why, looking from the height of its 25 years at the past, we conclude: "The April line is not a past. It is our present. It is open to the future--to the near and more distant future of the party and the country.

Therefore the 12th congress is addressing the party, the working class, the entire Bulgarian people, with the appeal: to work, to work tirelessly towards the further development, enrichment and translating into life of our Leninist general April line."

Since yesterday the congress is sitting in five sections: party-and-political; organizational and ideological work; state bodies and mass organizations; economic policy, science, culture and education; foreign policy and international relations.

The sections discuss concrete questions related to the formulations set forth in the BCP CC report and the draft theses. More than 150 delegates have taken the floor--a fact giving evidence to the possibility of discussing a wide range of questions concerning all spheres of political, economic, social and cultural development.

Having in mind the numerous initiatives submitted before the congress by thousands of agrarians, Komsomol members and non-party members, we can assert that the cardinal issues facing Bulgaria's development have never been discussed on such a wide scale before.

In Sofia and in the country meetings of the working people were held today too. Heads of foreign delegations delivered messages of greetings to the 12th congress at them. All messages of greetings were published in the press.

Italian Delegate's Address

AU041412 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Greetings address by Mario Birardi, Italian Communist Party (PCI) Central Committee secretary, delivered at the 3 April afternoon session of the 12th BCP Congress in Sofia--live, in Italian with superimposed Bulgarian translation]

[Text] Dear comrades, first of all we would like to convey to your 12th BCP Congress the cordial greetings of the Italian communists. We also wish to express not only our (?great) interest in this major forum, but also emphasize that we value the results achieved by you in the socioeconomic and cultural sphere as well as the accumulated specific experience in building socialism. The ties existing between our parties are based on an old and sound friendship. They have deep roots in history--when our two parties actively participated in the common struggles against fascism and Nazism, as well as in the long joint cooperation between Georgi Dimitrov and Palmiro Togliatti. [applause]

Our party, which today marks its 60th anniversary, has become a large mass organization of 1.76 million members and won more than 11 million votes in the last election. The PCI was the main leader in the struggles against fascism as well as for achieving a democratic constitution, for establishing the republic, for improving the living standards of the people and for carrying our social and democratic reforms in our country.

Regardless of the successes achieved, Italy today is undergoing a particularly difficult period which, in addition to the terrorist attacks against democratic institutions, also has to face the aggravation of the socioeconomic crisis. This is also expressed in inflation, which is already more than 20 percent, in the devaluation of the national currency and in the crisis of the major industrial spheres. The measures recently undertaken by the Italian Government will have severe consequences because they will affect not only [words indistinct] and the mass strata of the population, but also vital branches of our economy, particularly small enterprises, small industrial enterprises and the craftsmen and farmers.

While reaffirming our strict criticism of the economic policy of the government as well as the measures undertaken by it, we express our ever firm conviction that in order to defend the rights of the working people and to wage war against inflation, and thus strengthen our economy, a new political leadership of the country is needed in which the communist party must also take part. A government is needed that will represent a democratic alternative to the power held by the Christian Democrats. Reforms are needed in the programs, political groups and the way of ruling. Our struggle for preserving democratic institutions, for pulling the country out of the acute socioeconomic crisis and for restoring and developing the country is interweaved with the struggle to follow an active policy that is in the interest of detente and international cooperation, as well as in the interest of peace which is threatened by restoration of the arms race and by an increase in local conflicts.

Under these international circumstances, when there is a danger of exacerbating tension and of aggravating relations among countries, we expressed our positive assessment of the proposals on disarmament talks, on a moratorium in deploying medium-range missiles in Europe as included in Leonid Brezhnev's proposals, so that a balanced reduction of arms is achieved, as the Italian communists insisted on some time ago. We positively assess Leonid Brezhnev's idea of a meeting with the U.S. President and other state leaders so that a beginning on talks about the basic problems of our times can be set, and thus an atmosphere of greater confidence can be created. This atmosphere would bring about a resumption of the dialogue, continue the policy of detente and resolve the local conflicts particularly in the Middle East.

We clearly and promptly (?emphasize) the existing differences between our party and the other communist parties on a number of problems, among which is our stand toward the Afghanistan issue. We are of the opinion that it is not only possible but also necessary to work for finding a political solution on the basis of negotiations between the interested parties. Our party supports this stand because it originates from all our studies and formulations as well as our own deep conviction that the independence and sovereignty of each country and people are an irrevocable principle of socialism and of strengthening the constant struggle for detente. We also express our concern and anxiety in connection with the developments in socialist Poland. We hope our Polish comrades will find, alone, a political path toward continuing the process of renovation and toward overcoming the existing tension.

In order to have true authority not only in Italy but also in Europe and throughout the world, our party cannot restrict itself only to means of propaganda or (?purely) propagating the ideals of socialism. The party must be capable of concretely carrying out our strategy for democratic and socialist reforms in any Western country, like Italy, by using the historical characteristics and reality in this part of the world, as well as the aspirations and achievements in the standard of the workers class' conscious and of the most vital and stormy strengths of youth, women and intelligentsia in these countries.

The line we have outlined, and which was authoritatively confirmed by the 15th PCI Congress, was a result of dozens of years of consideration and experience accumulated by our party under the leadership of (Granti) and Togliati. Our party has always responded to and attentively regarded everything positive which has emerged in the experience and proposals of other parties. We have no intention to isolate ourselves and give up our international obligation. On the contrary, it is because we are aware of the changed historical conditions and of the new ways along which international solidarity should be expressed with the emergence of new and major [words indistinct]. We are of the opinion that the ties and relations among all socialist, democratic and progressive forces throughout the world should be expanded by respecting the individual independence of each one, and by assuming the obligation to achieve the great task connected with the struggle for detente, peace and cooperation, for creating a new international system, and for socialism. [applause]

Dear comrades, by again cordially congratulating you, we convey most cordial greetings to your party and people for further and ever greater successes in developing and expanding the friendship and cooperation between our two parties and countries in the interest of progress and peace. [applause]

4 APRIL CONGRESS SESSION EVENTS REPORTED

AU041200 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 0700 GMT on 4 April carries a live relay from the Sofia People's Palace of Culture on the morning session of the fifth day of the 12th BCP Congress. At 0700 GMT reporter Iliya Krustev announces the entrance of the congress presidium "led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov," and announces that the morning session will be chaired by Lyudmila Zhivkova.

At 0702 GMT Lyudmila Zhivkova opens the session and gives the floor to Velichko Karadzhov, BCP Smolyan Okrug committee first secretary, who greets the congress, describes Smolyan Okrug's working successes and pledges new achievements.

At 0719 GMT the floor is given to Georgi Tanev, first secretary of the Dimitrov Komsomol Central Committee, who voices a high evaluation of the BCP Central Committee report, describes the achievements of the Dimitrov Komsomol and pledges unreserved loyalty to the BCP and its "Leninist April line."

At 0736 GMT the floor is given to Gospodin Yordanov, foreman at the Kozloduy nuclear energy plant, twice hero of socialist labor, who describes the use of nuclear energy for peaceful goals and the development of the Kozloduy plant, and pledges more working successes.

At 0749 GMT the floor is given to Svetlin Rusev, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Painters, who describes the party role in guiding Bulgaria's cultural life, and pledges the unreserved ideological purity of Bulgaria's arts, as well as new artistic successes.

At 0807 GMT the floor is given to 'Ali Yata, secretary general of the Moroccan Party of Progress and Socialism, who greets Bulgaria's successes in every area of life. He expresses the gratitude of the Arab people for Bulgaria's support of "their just struggle against Zionism and imperialism." He describes the activity of his party struggling to "improve the social conditions in Morocco and mobilize the masses, to expand democratic rights and freedoms in Morocco and satisfy the strivings of the people." Further on, Yata scores the tension and conflicts "which can develop into a real war," and in this context praises the "peaceful foreign policy of the socialist countries." Yata voices a high evaluation of relations between Bulgaria and Morocco, "which are an example of friendly relations between states with different social systems." He dwells on the necessity of strengthening the ranks of the international communist and workers' movement "on the basis of scientific socialism," and concludes by wishing Bulgaria new successes.

At 0818 GMT the floor is given to Majid abu Shararah, member of the PLO Executive Committee. He thanks the BCP for the invitation to attend the 12th BCP Congress, and praises Bulgaria's successes. Abu Shararah scores the U.S. imperialists "trying to interfere in Latin America and the Middle East." He defends the Soviet involvement in Afghanistan, "which is an important step in foiling the imperialist designs against Afghanistan." Further on he describes the PLO struggle against Zionism and imperialism, and scores the U.S. policv in the Middle East and its assistance to Israel. He accuses the United States of encouraging the Gulf conflict, and explains this as another U.S. attempt to strengthen its positions in the Gulf area. He dwells on the relations between the PLO and "the progressive Arab countries," and in this context praises the USSR-SYRIAN treaty. Abu Shararah voices support for Brezhnev's peaceful proposals and defines them as "an important factor in opposing the Camp David agreements." He advocates the "right of the Palestinian people to establish their own independent state under PLO leadership" and rejects all other alternatives "including the Jordanian variant." He concludes his speech by greeting the BCP and the Bulgarian people.

At 0828 GMT the floor is given to (Moses Mbadida), secretary-general of the South African Communist Party. He greets the 12th BCP Congress, "which is taking place at a moment in which imperialism has lost its mind." He praises Bulgaria's foreign policy and describes the struggle of the South African people "against a beast, which is trying to destroy us." He condemns the "South African regime supported by imperialism" and describes the struggle of his party against imperialism, apartheid and neocolonialism. At 0835 GMT reception quality deteriorates, and the end of the South African delegate's speech cannot be heard.

At 0850 the floor is given to George Jackson, national secretary of New Zealand's Socialist Unity Party. He scores "the bourgeois campaign against human rights" and expresses solidarity with the forces "fighting for liberation and independence." He scores his government's policy "aimed at assisting imperialism in setting foot in this part of the world," and praises the "peaceful foreign policy of the socialist countries."

At 0858 GMT Lyudmila Zhivkova announces a 30-minute recess, and the live relay concludes.

The live relay begins again at 0931 GMT with the reporter announcing that "members of the congress Presidium are taking their seats," and that the session will be chaired by Ognyan Doynov.

At 0933 Ognyan Doynov gives the floor to Khristo Shishkov, chairman of the Dimitrovgrad City People's Council, who dwells on Dimitrovgrad's industrial and social successes and pledges new achievements.

At 0947 GMT the floor is given to Lyubomir Milanov, first secretary of the BCP Antonovo City committee. He describes the struggle of his region's partisans against the fascists, stressing that he sees himself as their representative to the congress. Working successes are described and loyalty to the BCP April line expressed.

At 0959 GMT the floor is given to Aleksandur Stefanov, chairman of the Ivan Zarev agro-industrial complex in Razgrad Okrug, who describes the agrarian successes of Razgrad Okrug and pledges new working successes.

At 1011 GMT the floor is given to Stoyan Karadzhov, chairman of the BCP Central Control and Auditing Commission, who presents the report of the congress' commission on personal complaints and requests, which is unanimously adopted by the congress.

At 1016 GMT Ognyan Doynov proposes to end the discussion, and the proposal is unanimously adopted.

At 1020 GMT the floor is given to Stanko Todorov who reads the draft resolution of the 12th BCP Congress on the BCP Central Committee report. The resolution praises the BCP Central Committee report and the consequent discussions, and proposes to approve the BCP Central Committee report. The BCP local organizations are to be guided by the postulates included in the report. All Bulgarian communists are called upon to do everything to implement the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. Ognyan Doynov asks the delegates to vote on the resolution, which is then approved by the congress.

At 1024 GMT, the floor is given to Grisha Filipov, who proposes the approval of the 12th BCP Congress theses. He describes the merits of the theses and their importance in Bulgaria's further development along the road of accelerated socialist development. Ognyan Doynov asks the delegates to vote on the theses, and they are unanimously adopted.

At 1041 GMT Ognyan Doynov gives the floor to Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Commission on Changing the Party Statutes. He presents the proposed changes to the statutes related to "enhancing the party's April line, improving the work of the local party organizations, mobilizing the youth for party work, improving the work of the local party organizations, mobilizing the youth for party work, and so forth." Further on Atanasov says that "many proposals have been made to restore the position of BCP secretary general." The delegates respond by applauding. The restoration of the secretary general post is also presented as "a burning necessity of present party life." The post will reincarnate the "party's unity and strength" and will "contribute to strengthening the implementation of the Leninist principles of party life." The restoration of the post "will represent a new recognition of Comrade Zhivkov's merits." The proposal of restoring the post of BCP secretary general is put to the vote by Ognyan Doynov. The proposal is unanimously adopted by the delegates.

At 1052 GMT Ognyan Doynov announces that Stoyan Karadzhov relinquishes the right of a concluding speech, and puts to the vote the proposal to approve the activity of the Central Control and Auditing Commission and its report to the congress. The proposal is unanimously adopted.

At 1054 GMT Ognyan Doynov announces that a closed session will open at 1300 GMT. The session will be open to delegates to the congress only. Afterwards, "at about 1800" an open and concluding session will take place.

Petition Commission Approval

AU041417 Sofia BTA in English 1205 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Text] Sofia, 4 Apr (BTA)--Mr Stoyan Karadzhov, chairman of the Commission for Personal Applications and Petitions to the 12th Congress of the BCP, and chairman of the Central Control and Audit Commission of the BCP, informed the delegates that a total of 2513 letters from different citizens, working and creative teams from all over the country were sent to the congress and in connection with the draft theses. He noted that the working people in Bulgaria are addressing with boundless trust the BCP with requests, complaints and warnings, with concrete recommendations on the most vital problems of the sociopolitical, economic and cultural life, of work and everyday life, that they share sincerely their worries and criticise some shortcomings. The speaker added that during the congress hundreds of letters still arrived.

All the recommendations of the working people have been filed, thoroughly studied and summarized by the CC of the BCP departments and the Central Control and Audit Commission, stressed Mr Stoyan Karadzhov.

On the basis of the material studied and the information collected, the commission recommended to the congress to take a respective decision, which was approved unanimously by the delegates. It is said in the decision that the Central Control and Audit Commission of the CC of the BCP should study and discuss the requests of 110 citizens on considerations that there are grounds to discuss anew their party membership. At the same time the requests of another 256 citizens for restoring their party membership, for abrogation or change of other punishments have been rejected.

All individuals who sent applications and petitions to the congress will be informed of its decision.

Zhivkov Report Approved

AU041215 Sofia BTA in English 1140 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Text] Sofia, 4 Apr (BTA)—The 12th Congress of the BCP today unanimously approved the resolution of the congress on Mr Todor Zhivkov's report, in which the CC of the BCP reported on the work of the party and in which the party's forthcoming tasks have been outlined.

Reading the draft resolution, Mr Stanko Todorov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Ministerial Council of Bulgaria, underlined that the commission on the report and the congress theses has been guided by the exceptionally high assessment of all the speakers given to the report in the course of the 5-day lively discussion.

It was underlined, said Mr Stanko Todorov, that the report is a further creative development and enrichment of the Leninist April line of the party, that it contains a thorough scientific analysis of the remarkable successes achieved in the socialist development of the country and of the processes and phenomena in international life, that it develops and makes further concrete the party program for the construction of the developed socialist society in our country.

In the resolution is integrally and fully approved the political line and the practical work of the CC of the party. Approved is the report and it is recommended that all party bodies and organizations should be guided in their work by the formulations and tasks stated in it. All the communists in the country are called to selfless struggle and useful work in implementation of the tasks set by the 12th congress of the party.

Theses Approved

AU041603 Sofia BTA in English 1405 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Text] Sofia, 4 Apr (BTA)--The 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party unanimously approved the theses for the work of the party, for the social, the economic and cultural development of Bulgaria in the seventh 5-year period (1976-1980) and the tasks in the eighth 5-year period (1981-1985) and up to the year 1990. The delegates heard the report of the Commission on Amendments and Addenda to the Draft-Theses, read by Mr Grisha Filipov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP.

The speaker said that the theses represented a scientifically grounded complex program for the development of the country along the road to socialism. In them is materialized the socioeconomic, the ideological and cultural strategy of the party, aimed at meeting the material and cultural demands of the working people to a fuller extent through all-round intensification of the national economy on the basis of prompt transfer of the achievements of scientific and technological progress into practice.

Mr. Grisha Filipov said that the party-wide and nation-wide discussions of the draft theses have proven the confidence the people have in the Bulgarian Communist Party and its Leninist-April policy.

Some 48,846 open party meetings of labor teams were held in the country. They were attended by a total of 3,756,551 people of whom 795,981 were communists. Some 68,466 proposals were submitted of which 4,119 on amendments and addenda to the draft-theses. Some 30,000 letters were addressed to the mass media in the country.

"The basic result of the discussion of the theses that was held is the unanimous support and the approval the theses received by the entire party and all the people," said Mr Grisha Filipov.

The greatest is the number of proposals concerning the socioeconomic development of the country. They deal with the proportional development of the economy, planning, the territorial distribution of production forces, of the labor and social legislation, the introduction of technical progress and fore-rankers experience. Proposals made in the part dealing with the development of science and culture are seeking to increase the participation of the higher educational establishments and engineering and development organizations into the promotion of research, the improvement of the normative basis of inventors and innovators activity.

The amendments to the part dealing with the role of the party reflect the need of improving the work of the local party organizations and party groups, of improving intraparty democracy. Another group of proposals are seeking to improve the style and methods of leadership of party, state, economy and social bodies. The proposals also cover issues, opinions and proposals related to problems concerning the direct interests and demands of citizens.

Mr. Grisha Filipov underlined the necessity of mobilizing all efforts of the nation for a maximum use of the reserves and possibilities of the socialist economy and for a still greater prosperity of Bulgaria. We, said he, have energy ground to look with optimism into the future because we are following the road outlined by the BCP which successfully leads the people towards the realization of communist ideals. In this road we advance shoulder in shoulder with the CPSU and the USSR, we advance in close unity with all the fraternal socialist countries and the progressive forces of the world.

After the report of the commission the congress approved the theses and decided that the Ministerial Council, in compliance with the report of the CC of the BCP and the draft theses, should prepare a draft of a plan for the socioeconomic development of the country in the eight 5-year-period which will be submitted for approval to the National Assembly.

The concrete proposals for the imporovement of the style and methods of leadership of the party, state, economic and public bodies and organizations made during the discussions of the draft theses and the discussions at the congress should be filed by the corresponding departments, which should start to analyze and realize them. The proposals concerning directly the interests of the citizens should be sent to the competent bodies for practical settling or for giving a timely answer.

Party Statute Changes

AU041557 Sofia BTA in English 1330 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Text] Sofia, 4 Apr (BTA)--Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Commission on the Proposals for Amendments and Addenda to the BCP Statute, secretary ofthe CC of the party, pointed out that the amendments and addenda to the contents of the statute are related to the formulations of the historical place and role of the Leninist April line in the party and the country, of the natural growing of the leading role of the BCP in the period of building up the mature socialist society.

The amendments and addenda also refer to the party cells as the leading political nucleus of the workteam and a prototype of its future state. With these the role of the local party bodies and organizations is also raised, the title member of the BCP is also raised in accordance with the tasks of the development.

The final editing of the documents concerns changes in the statute, structural changes, and some functions of the party organs and organizations resulting from the new territorial and town-planning development of the country.

Amendments and addenda to the statute are motivated by the following considerations: In the period after the adopting of the BCP program, the Central Committee and Mr Todor Zhivkov personally have worked on major problems of the social development and the activity of the party. These developments were all-roundly tested in life, established themselves as norms in the party work. Considerable changes have occured also in the sphere of social and class structure of society and in the social management.

The changes in the statute are of partial nature, the speaker said, but they are very important in view of the necessity to reflect those achievements both in the party theoretical thought and in (?the practical) work, which will create more favorable conditions for raising the role of the communists, of the party organs and organisations in the struggle for the fulfillment of the qualitatively new task set forth by the 12th BCP Congress.

The congress restored the post of secretary general of the CC of the BCP by assuming that this is a necessity which has become mature since long ago as principally very important and politically topical.

As emphasized in the report of the commission, the matter is also related to the traditions in the communist movement, with the responsibility of the BCP as a leading and guiding force, with the established role and authority of its top leader. The congress assesses the restoring of the post as a new manifestation of the historical continuity between the Dimitrov course and the April line of the BCP.

The report of the commission reads: "The restoring of the post of secretary general of the Central Committee will embody still more fully the unity of the party and its creative force, the role of its top leader as one of brilliantly manifested qualities, whose activity in the conditions of the collective method of leadership and the principle of democratic centralism is a factor of paramount importance for the fulfillment of the leading role of the party, for the consolidation of the moral and political unity of the people, for the consistent application of the Leninist norms of party life."

New Bodies Elected

AU041896 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Live relay of the closing session of the 12th BCP Congress on 4 April 1981 in the Sofia Palace of Culture, chaired by Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense]

[Text] [Dzhurov] Comrades delegates, esteemed guests, I open the closing session of the 12th BCP Congress. I have the assignment of announcing the results of the elections for central leading organs of the party. All comrades proposed as members and candidate members of the BCP Central Committee and of the BCP Central Control and Auditing Commission have been elected unanimously. The first session of the newly elected BCP Central Committee has just ended. [applause] The plenum unanimously elected Comrade Todor Zhivkov as secretary general of the BCP Central Committee. [stormy, prolonged applause and ovations, chants "BCP, BCP":] The following comrades have been unanimously elected as members of the BCP Central Committee Politburo: Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Lyudmila Zhivkova, Ognyan Doynov, Peko Takov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Todor Zhivkov, and Tsola Dragoycheva. [applause]

The following comrades have been unanimously elected as candidate members of the BCP Central Committee Politburo: Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Petur Dyulgerov. The following comrades have been unanimously elected secretaries of the BCP Central Committee: Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Ognyan Doynov, Dimitur Stanishev, Georgi Atanasov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Milko Balev, Misho Mishev, Vasil Tsanov Vasilev, and Chudomir Aleksandrov. [stormy applause]

At the first session of the Central Control and Auditing Commission, which has taken place, Comrade Stoyan Karadzhov was unanimously reelected chairman of the commission. [applause]

The following comrades were elected deputy chairmen of the Central Control and Auditing Commission: Stamo Kerezov, first deputy chairman; Docho Shipov, Aleksandur Todorov, Kiril Nestorov, Georgi Manev, deputy chairmen.

The following comrades were elected members of the Bureau of the Central Control and Auditing Commission: Angel Velev, Angel Todorov, Asen Marinchevski, Aleksandur Bogdanov, Boris Bogdanov, Velko Tsenkov, Dimitur Ganev, Docho Shipkov, Delcho Cholakov, Zapryan Tashev, Ivan Velev, Kiril Nestorov, Kolyu Ganchev, Dr Petur Bozhikov, Stamo Kerezov, Stoyan Karadzhov, Tone Perenovski, and [name indistinct].

I now give the floor to Comrade Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee. [stormy and prolonged applause]

Zhivkov Closing Address

AU041806 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Live relay of the closing address of Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee, to the 12th BCP Congress at the Sofia Palace of Culture]

[Text] Dear comrades, the 12th BCP Congress is closing its work. We have all the grounds to say that this was a good and strong congress. A congress of decisive importance for our further development. The election of new leading party organs has just ended. The first plenum of the newly elected Central Committee has also taken place. The results of this plenum have already been announced. The central committee, the Central Control-Auditing Commission, as well as the Politburo and the BCP Central Committee represent a good, competent and businesslike political leadership for the party. [applause]

On behalf of the comrades elected to the party leading organs, I would like most sincerely to thank the delegates for the great trust placed in us. [applause] For us, this is the expression of the entire party's trust, an expression of the Bulgarian working people's trust. You, dear comrades, are very well aware of what the trust of comrades means to the Bulgarian communists and to the functionaries of our party. You know what the people's faith means to us. Throughout the entire 90 year development of our Blagoev-Dimitrov party, the trust of the workers class and of the working people has been considered the most valuable asset of the party, a guarantee for all the party's successes. The BCP came to its 12th congress as a strong party, strong because of the people's trust. The work of the congress proceeded before the eyes of the people; all congress documents have been published, or will be published. We can say once again: Our party, coming out of this congress hall, has become even stronger. It has strengthened and been enriched and intensified by the work and decisions of its 12th congress. [applause]

Each of us, the 800,000 Bulgarian communists, each of our party functionaries, with his loyalty to the cause of communism, with his spirit and behavior, with his entire life is building and strengthening the people's faith in the party. Each of us bear personal responsibility for this invaluable asset of ours--the people's trust.

You can rest assured, dear comrades, that we, the members of the newly elected central leading party organs, will devote all our efforts in order to justify the great trust and responsibility which the congress has placed with us. [applause]

Comrades, 214 people have taken the floor at the congress. A wide, representative and competent discussion was held. The congress proceeded with a high political, ideological and businesslike standard. It demonstrated the maturity which is characteristic of our party. It showed the party's lack of satisfaction at the successes achieved, and demonstrated the party's feeling for everything new and its aspiration to higher goals. The congress was the final stage, we can say the climax, of the all-party and nationwide discussion. The congress rallied and expressed the people's cohesion around the party and party policy, the people's moral-political unity, the readiness and involvement of the party organizations of workers collectives, and their resolve to cope with and solve the new problems.

We can justifiably say that the 12th congress will play a historical role in building a mature, socialist society in our country. [applause]

Now, all party organs and organizations and all cadres are facing the task of drawing the necessary conclusions from the work of the congress, and of implementing the congress decisions. This applies to all spheres of social life, to the material and intellectual sphere, and it applies to all of us, from the basic party organization to the Central Committee.

In this connection, I would like to note three main conclusions stemming from the work of the congress. They are as follows:

1. To continue to hold the banner of the Leninist April line of our party and to keep it pure. With the banner of this general line, we must rally and inspire the party and people to the struggle for settling today's and tomorrow's problems of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. [stormy applause]

2. The congress has worked out a large-sized but realistic and unmistakable program, a program for action on a national as well as a territorial and branch basis. The main socioeconomic task of the Eighth 5-Year Plan is clear. The problems which will have to be solved in the individual economic, sociopolitical and intellectual spheres, in the foreign policy sector, and so forth, are clear. To put it briefly, the general trend of our work during the forthcoming period is comprehensively intensifying and expanding socialist democracy and expanding social and labor activities, as well as further improving the people's living standard.

3. The new complicated and difficult tasks urgently require a much higher standard of leading executive work in all fields, at all levels and in all links of our society. Upon the solid basis of the qualities which are characteristic of Bulgarian communists and our cadres--such as selfless loyalty to the cause of socialism, the strong links with the people, indefatigable industriousness and striving for knowledge, for innovations--it is now very important to raise the standards of professional competence and the businesslike spirit in the party, in the state, in the economic sector, in science and culture, in social activities and in the work of public organizations. The quality and effectiveness of work must be increased everywhere and in all spheres. [applause]

We must indefatigably educate people in the spirit of self-discipline. We must strive for higher and stricter discipline. We must strive for working discipline, technological discipline, and financial discipline, as well as planning discipline. Let the slogan which we are raising as the congress' work slogan--deeds, deeds and only deeds--remain the slogan of work in implementing the decisions of the 12th congress. [applause]

Comrades, 125 delegations from communist, workers, socialist and national liberation as well as other progressive parties and movements from all continents are attending our congress. [Words indistinct] we thank them for their participation and support, for the beautiful words they addressed to the BCP and to the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Their high appreciation of us is not only a friendly expression of acknowledgement, but also a powerful international manifestation in the present and future construction of socialism in our motherland. We ask you, dear comrades in arms, to convey to your parties, organizations and leaderships that the BCP will continue in future to unrelentingly contribute to the consolidation and development of real socialism in our country and throughout the world! [applause] To the unity of the international communist and workers' movement, to the expansion of the worldwide revolutionary process, to the struggle for social progress, to democracy and socialism, and to the triumph of peace on earth.

Comrades, we have everything necessary to ensure a further successful construction of mature socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. We have a program of action approved by the 12th BCP Congress. We have a united and purpose-oriented leading force. This force is our glorious party. We have a people who are convinced fighters for the great communist cause and we have loyal and reliable friends and allies. From the rostrum of the 12th congress and on behalf of all delegates, we address all communists and all our people: to work, dear comrades, to work dear compatriots; let us implement the decisions of the 12th congress in practical life, let us take a great, new step in the development of socialist society in our country, in increasing the people's prosperity, for the further success of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

I declare the 12th BCP congress closed. [stormy and prolonged applause, chants of "BCP"]

[After Zhivkov's closing address, the announcer reports the congress closed and describes the enthusiasm of the audience. The Internationale is played by an orchestra, all delegates rise from their seats and sing the Internationale. Applause accompanies the acting presidium leaving the hall.]

BCP CONGRESS FOREIGN POLICY SECTION'S 2ND SESSION

AU031548 Sofia BTA in English 0840 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Excerpts] Sofia, 3 Apr (BTA)--Today Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and minister of national defence, opened today's session in the "Foreign Policy and International Relations" section of the 12th congress of the party.

Mr Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, said that the Congress of the BCP is proceeding in an atmosphere when the warmongers in the West and especially in the United States have undertaken measures for the implementation of a far-reaching program for rearmament with new types of nuclear and conventional weapons. They have launched a ferocious propaganda campaign against the socialist countries, gross by meddle [as received] in the internal affairs of various states and are seeking to stifle the national liberation movements in the world. These forces, Mr Ivanov went on, who are enjoying the support of the world reactionary forces and the Beijing hegemonists are seeking to do away with the achievements of detente, to inflict a blow on the cause of socialism. "Bulgaria and the Bulgarian communists are actively supporting the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union as announced by Mr Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th Congress of the CPSU" said the speaker.

Mr Mariy Ivanov emphasized: "What Bulgaria stands for is that the Madrid meeting--the course of which, we have to note, is all the time impeded by the unconstructive stand of the USA and other Western countries--must work out a balanced final document on all sections of the Final Act of Helsinki. Particular importance for the success of the meeting would have the adopting of decisions to convene an all-European conference on military detente and disarmament".

He said that Bulgaria and the BCP stand for a peaceful solving of the international problems through negotiations. This is why we welcome the readiness of the USSR for a dialogue with the USA, including summit-level one.

Mr Emil Markov, head of the group "International Information" of the CC of the BCP, emphasized that imperialism has fully replaced the "sacred" bourgeois principles of freedom of the word and the press by the freedom of misinformation, the freedom of violence in defence of its own interests.

We are the witnesses, the speaker noted, of the offensive of a real informational colonialism, which has mobilized enormous political and material-technical forces. Mr Emil Markov noted: "Especially intensified also is the anti-Bulgarian propaganda as an integral part of anticommunism. The anti-Soviet subject as its essence is being imposed still more systematically, on many aspects and with most various 'argumentation'. The number of the (?organizations) and the other links set up for subversive actions against Bulgaria and the other socialist countries is already outnumbering 90".

Dwelling on the role and place of international tourism for the acquaintance and getting closer of nations, Mr Georgi Evtimov, chairman of the State Tourism Committee, noted that Bulgaria received more than 3 million foreign tourists and some 2 million transit visitors of more than 80 countries in the world in a matter of 1 year.

For the last 10 years the hard-currency earnings of Bulgaria coming from tourism have gone up more than six-fold, he said.

Mr Georgi Petkov, secretary of the National Council of the Fatherland Front, dwelt on the international relations of his organization. He pointed out that the Fatherland Front is maintaining active bilateral and multilateral relations with the fronts of the socialist countries.

The speaker emphasized: "Quite active are also the relations with the national-liberation and anti-imperialist fronts in the developing countries. Partners of the Fatherland Front, though small in number, are also some bourgeois democratic organizations, parties and movements".

Mrs Atanaska Gateva, director of a cow-breeding complex, spoke about the role and contribution of the Bulgarian women in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

Bulgaria's ambassador to France, Mr Konstantin Atanasov, dwelt on Bulgaria's international relations in the sphere of cultural exchange with the capitalist countries. Reviewing the Bulgarian cultural events in the developed capitalist states, he emphasized that they have played an exceptional role in maintaining the dialogue with these countries even in a most complicated political setup.

Mr. Enio Savov, deputy chief of "Cadres Abroad" Department of the Central Committee on the Bulgarian Communist Party, said: "Recently some Western politicians have lost their sense of political realism and are trying to revive the spirit of confrontation and tension in international relations. This comes only to reaffirm the great significance the organization of the Warsaw Treaty holds in the security of the fraternal countries, and the necessity of constantly reinforming and improving its defence capacity. We the communists now bear the historic responsibility of preserving peace and socialism in the world."

The Bulgarian ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr Konstantin Kozmov, said that the basic share in Bulgaria's foreign economic ties with the industrially developed capitalist states is taken by the West European states, and first of all with the E.E.C. member-states. Trade with them is developing dynamically. [Passage indistinct] the conditions of the deepening crisis in the capitalist world, Mr Kozmov said, Bulgaria's relations with the developed capitalist countries continue to develop successfully. The basic task of the trade and economic relations with the capitalist countries, the ambassador said, was the carrying out of a balanced trade and the raising of the efficiency of Bulgarian exports.

Mr Yovcho Gospodinov, first secretary of the municipal BCP committee in the town of Shumen, emphasized the warm workers' backing to Bulgaria's principled foreign policy.

Mr Girgin Girginov, BCP representative in the PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM magazine, spoke about internationalism--the essence of the international BCP activity. He stressed: "The BCP has been fighting on the offensive and is fighting against the efforts of its class opponents to undermine the international policy of the communist parties and the socialist countries."

The speaker pointed out that one of the great truths for the independence of each party and of its international duties is: "When some party tears itself off and even only temporarily opposes the whole movement, it is facing the real danger of deformation and absolute degradation."

Mr Girgin Girginov noted that the Bulgarian communists do not dramatize the differences in the concepts on the different matters and on the forms and means of the struggle, but consider them as something quite natural. They result from the growing diversity of the specific conditions of the class struggle and from the different ideological and political maturity of the subjective factor.

Mr Belcho Ivanov, secretary of the CC of the Dimitrov Young Communist Union, said that the main tasks of the Dimitrov Young Communist Union in the sphere of international activity is to do everything necessary to attract the vast majority of the young people in the battle for peace, security and cooperation.

"Bulgaria's relations with India are a convincing demonstration of how a small socialist country and a big nonaligned country can cooperate in the interests of peace and to the benefit of their peoples" said Mr Tocho Tochev, the Bulgarian ambassador to India and Sri Lanka.

After the break the session was chaired by Mr Georgi Iliev, coal miner of the town of Pernik.

Mr Lyuben Georgiev, deputy chairman of the Foreign Relations Council with the State Council of Bulgaria, dwelt on the turning of the international economic relations into one of the main fields of struggle between the two trends in world politics.

"Economic blockade, embargo and trade discrimination can put up certain obstacles, but they are not capable of halting the historical offensive of real socialism, of the social and national revolution of peoples. In a number of cases they become a boomerang against their own inventors" said Mr Lyuben Georgiev.

Speaking about the struggle of the developing countries for a "new economic order", the speaker said that in its nature it is anti-imperialist, and democratic. The socialist countries regard this struggle in close relationship with the solution of the basic problems of the democratic reformation of the entire system of international relations on the basis of detente, curbing the arms race and the strengthening of the positions of peace and security in the world.

Bulgaria's ambassador in Cuba, Mr Boyko Dimitrov, stressed that top Washington officials almost daily come out with threats against Cuba. With an intensity unprecedented for decades the agent network is being unfolded, different provocations are being made, military exercises are carried out close to the Cuban shores, which actually are preparations for an eventual blockade and intervention. Mr Boyko Dimitrov stressed that with the slandering campaign for an alleged "subversive activity of Cuba, of an alleged Soviet conspiration in Central America, Washington is trying futilely to conceal the export of counterrevolution raised to the rank of state policy, its alliance with the most cruel dictatorships in the region, its practically launched intervention in El Salvador.

Mr Marin Petrov, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technological Progress, pointed out that Bulgaria is participating in the implementation of 152 multilateral and 40 bilateral agreements for techno-scientific cooperation with the socialist countries, and in 50 contracts with the nonsocialist countries. Jointly with the Soviet and the other fraternal institutes 36 basic products and technologies have been evolved and transferred industrially. With research institutes from France, Italy, the USA, Australia and Holland, important fundamental and applied problems in the sphere of chemistry, biology, physics and power generation have been developed.

The last to take the floor was Bulgaria's ambassador in Angola, Mr Boyan Mikhaylov. He dwelt on some problems of the cooperation between the BCP and the ruling revolutionary democratic parties and national democratic movements in the developing countries.

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES FOREIGN DELEGATES TO CONGRESS

PCF Delegate

AU031901 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] On 3 April, Comrade Todor Zhivkov received Madeleine Vincent, leader of the French Communist Party [PCF] delegation to the 12th BCP Congress and PCF Central Committee Politburo member. Comrade Madeleine Vincent conveyed the greetings of the PCF leadership and its Secretary General Georges Marchais to the BCP Central Committee, and personally to Comrade Todor Zhivkov. The willingness to further expand the fraternal relations and cooperation between the two parties, in the name of the common communist ideals, was expressed.

Greece's Florakis

AU031905 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] On 3 April Comrade Todor Zhivkov received Charilaos Florakis, leader of the delegation of the Communist Party of Greece to the 12th BCP Congress, and secretary general of the party Central Committee. Comrade Charilaos Florakis voiced a high evaluation of the 12th BCP Congress' work and expressed his positive attitude toward the proposals on establishing a code of goodneighborliness, included in Comrade Zhivkov's report to the congress. These proposals were evaluated by Comrade Florakis as a new contribution to strengthening the peace and friendship between the Balkan peoples. Mutual satisfaction with the successful development of relations between the BCP and the Communist Party of Greece was expressed.

Libyan Delegate

AU031900 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] On 3 April Comrade Todor Zhivkov received (Mukhtar Garba'a), member of the General Secretariat of the General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, leader of the delegation of the General People's Congress to the 12th BCP Congress. (Mukhtar Garba'a) conveyed the warm wishes of the leadership and people of the Libyan Jamahiriyah for the congress' successful and fruitful work.

RCP's Banc

AU051803 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1545 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Text] Sofia, 5 Apr (AGERPRES)--During a reception given for the foreign delegations who attended the party congress, Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party, cordially conversed with Iosif Banc, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, head of the RCP delegation to the congress.

On behalf of Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, Todor Zhivkov was conveyed warm congratulations on his re-election at the head of the party, and best wishes of good health and full success in the carrying through of the important decisions of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, devoted to the implementation of the party's programme of building the developed socialist society.

Thanking, Todor Zhivkov requested in turn that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed best wishes of good health, of fresh successes in the fruitful activity he deploys at the head of the party and the state, for the fulfillment of the decisions of the 12th Congress of the RCP, to the benefit and happiness of the friendly Romanian people.

RECEPTION FOR FOREIGN DELEGATES ATTENDING CONGRESS

AU042018 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Text] The BCP Central Committee tonight gave a reception at the Boyana residence in honor of the foreign delegations attending the 12th BCP Congress. Present were: Todor Zhivkov, Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Lyudmila Zhivkova, Ognyan Doynov, Peko Takov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Karadzhov, Dimitur Stanishev, Georgi Atanasov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Milko Balev, Misho Mishev, Vasil Tsanov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, members and candidate members of the BCP Central Committee, members of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission and members of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, Permanent Board. The representatives of the communist, workers, socialist, national-liberation and other progressive parties and movements from all continents were also present.

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES CONGRATULATORY TELEGRAMS

Brezhnev Telegram

AU051935 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Text] Sofia, 5 Apr (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, has received the following telegram from Mr Leonid Brezhnev, secretary general of the CC of the CPSU:

Deat Comrade Zhivkov:

I congratulate you cordially on your election for secretary general of the CC of the BCP on behalf of the CC of the CPSU and on my own behalf.

You are known and respected in the Soviet Union as the recognized leader of Socialist Bulgaria, who, for the course of more than a quarter of a century now, has been heading the Central Committee of the BCP, and also as a prominent figure of the international communist and workers' movement. The Soviet people hold in high esteem your staunch commitment to the traditional relations of friendship between our parties and peoples and your great contribution to the promotion of all-round cooperation and relationship between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria.

We wish you, dear Comrade Zhivkov, we wish all the communists and workers in the country, new achievements in the building of the advanced socialist society and a successful implementation of the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress.

Honecker Congratulations

LD041912 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1807 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Text] Berlin, 4 Apr (ADN)--On behalf of the Central Committee, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, has sent cordial good wishes to Todor Zhivkov on his election as general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee. He wished him, as head of the Bulgarian Communist Party, "further great successes in implementing the 12th BCP Congress decisions to develop the advanced socialist society in the Bulgarian People's Republic and in our common struggle for socialism and peace."

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON FOREIGN DELEGATIONS' ACTIVITIES

Durutovic Meets With Atanasov

LD042212 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1843 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Text] Sofia, 4 Apr (TANJUG)--Georgi Atanasov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, this evening received the leader of the LCY delegation at the 12th BCP Congress, Svetozar Durutovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. The two sides discussed relations and cooperation between the LCY and the BCP.

The reception was also attended by Yugoslav Ambassador to Sofia Danilo Puric.

LCY Delegation Visits Ruse

AU031703 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] On 3 April the LCY delegation to the 12th BCP Congress, led by Svetozar Durutovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, arrived in Ruse. The Yugoslav guests visited the plant producing construction platforms and took part in a meeting in one of the plant's shops. Afterwards, the delegation reviewed some of the city sites and visited the Suvetska Rusiya agro-industrial complex.

Durutovic on Mutual Relations

LD042000 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1320 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Sofia, 3 Apr (TANJUG)--It is of vital interest to the peoples of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria to develop equality-based mutually (?beneficial) cooperation and strengthen mutual ties and friendship, head of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia delegation to the Bulgarian Communist Party Congress Svetozar Durutovic stated in Ruse, Bulgaria, today.

Addressing workers of a local electronics plant, Durutovic spoke of the main features of Yugoslavia's social development, development of socialist self-management and achievements in the development of socialism.

Durutovic said that cooperation between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, and between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Bulgarian Communist Party had recorded new steps forward over the past few years.

Economic cooperation between the two countries has been advanced in particular, as has also been cooperation in the fields of science, culture and sports, Durutovic said.

Political cooperation, too, has been activated, as indicated by numerous meetings and talks at different levels. This does not mean, however, that cooperation could not be even better, underlined Durutovic. He noted that there are also outstanding controversial questions in relations between the two countries which have a limiting effect on their cooperation.

Durutovic recalled that Yugoslavia and its League of Communists have been making great efforts for the settlement of these questions. Unfortunately, however, there had been no progress in that respect.

Yugoslavia will continue to do everything that depends on it so that solutions acceptable to both sides may be found for these controversial questions, said Durutovic.

He set forth the Yugoslav view that national minorities living in neighbouring countries should have a major place and role between them.

It is essential to provide such conditions for national minorities, as make it possible for their national identities to find full expression, which the European countries are obliged to do also in consequence of the Helsinki document, said Durutovic.

Such conditions for the development of national minorities living in Yugoslavia are being created in it. This is the reason why interest has always existed in the fate of Yugoslav national minorities and conditions in which they live in other countries.

Hence, Durutovic said, also Yugoslavia's interest in the conditions in which its national minority lives in Bulgaria.

Shcherbitskiy in Plovdiv

AU032021 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Summary] "The Soviet delegation to the 12th BCP Congress, headed by Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Ukrainian CP, visited Plovdiv today. The Soviet guests were accompanied by Ognyan Doynov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; Kiril Zarev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Ivan Panev, first secretary of the okrug party committee; and the ambassadors of the two countries--Dimitur Zhulev and Nikita Tolubeyev; as well as by Sergey (Tyurin), consul general of the USSR in Plovdiv."

The Soviet guests laid a wreath at the USSR soldiers monument and visited the "hill of liberation" in Plovdiv, after which a friendship rally was held at the united computer plant. The meeting was opened and chaired by Petur Georgiev, first secretary of the Municipal BCP Committee in Plovdiv. Vulcho Georgiev, worker of the plant and decorated, outstanding winner of socialist competition, addressed the guests in cordial words. Georgi Panev, secretary of the plant party committee, also took the floor and welcomed the Soviet representatives to the 12th BCP Congress.

"Comrade Vladimir Shcherbitskiy addressed cordial words to the workers of the plant. [Begin Shcherbitskiy recording in Russian] Dear comrades and friends, at the assignment of the CPSU Central Committee we participated in the work of the 12th BCP Congress. We are happy to meet the citizens of the ancient and beautiful city of Plovdiv, to become familiar with the work of your plant and to meet your collective. [end recording] In his greetings address, Comrade Vladimir Scherbitskiy conveyed cordial, fraternal greetings to all Bulgarian people. Our friendship, he stressed is tested by time and has been tempered in the joint struggle for freedom, in the struggle for socialism. This friendship is sealed by the glorious forces of proletarian internationalism, by the behests of Lenin, Blagoev and Dimitrov. [Begin Shcherbitskiy recording in Russian] Long live and prosper the fraternal friendship and cooperation of the peoples of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. [applause] [end recording]"

MSZMP's Aczel Addresses Rally

LD041952 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Text] The 12th BCP Congress will conclude its work today in Sofia. The participating Hungarian party delegation, led by Gyorgy Aczel, deputy premier and member of the MSZMP Politburo, visited the northwestern county of Vratsa yesterday, where they toured the first nuclear power plant on the Balkan Peninsula, and then attended a Bulgarian-Hungarian friendship rally. At the rally, Gyorgy Aczel praised the traditionally good relations between Hungary and Bulgaria.

CSSR's Indra at Pleven Rally

LD042005 Prague CTK in English 1703 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Sofia, 3 Apr (CETEKA)--Full support for Leonid Brezhnev's constructive proposals on questions of detente, arms limitation, safeguarding of world peace, defence of sovereign rights of nations and development of equal and mutually advantageous cooperation as delivered at the 26th congress of Soviet communists was expressed by Czechoslovak representative Alois Indra today.

Speaking at a rally of workers of the Nikola Vaptsarov engineering works in Pleven (northern Bulgaria) the head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party pointed out that imperialist and anticommunist circles see the biggest obstacle for the realization of their intentions in the results achieved by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the construction of socialism, in their coordinated approach toward international issues and activity in the international communist and workers' movement. Therefore, "our communist party...considers it its internationalist duty to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the fraternal parties and socialist countries in the struggle for common aims," Alois Indra said adding that the unity of the socialist countries led by the Soviet Union "will be a firm barrier against all intrigues of international imperialism and reaction."

Speaking of the all-round relations between the communist parties of Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, Alois Indra stressed that they are built on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism and characterized by "full identity of views and actions concerning the socialist construction, development of the world socialist community, the international communist and workers' movement and the evaluation of the international situation."

SRV Delegation Visits Vidin

AU031708 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] On 3 April the delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam to the 12th BCP Congress, led by Army Gen Chu Huy Man, member of the party Central Committee Politburo and head of the Main Political Administration of the Vietnamese Army, visited Vidin.

The delegation was accompanied by Col Gen Kiril Kosev, head of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army. At a meeting at the Vidin Okrug BCP Committee, the Vietnamese guests were briefed on the high working successes and comprehensive economic development of the okrug. A meeting of the Bulgarian-Vietnamese Friendship Society took place at the city square.

Groups at Dimitrov Mausoleum

AU021755 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] On 2 April, the foreign delegations to the 12th BCP Congress laid a wreath at the Georgi Dimitrov mausoleum and paid respect to his coffin. They thus expressed their deep respect and gratitude for the life and deeds of the leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people and a prominent figure of the international communist and workers' movement. A wreath was laid also at the monument to Vladimir Ilich Lenin, the leader of the world proletariat and founder of the Soviet Communist Party and State. The ceremony was attended by comrades Aleksandur Lilov and Dimitur Stanishev, and BCP Central Committee members.

Foreign Delegations Tour Country

AU032145 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Mar 81

[Summary] Foreign delegations who are visiting our country on the occasion of the 12th BCP Congress held meetings in several towns today, including Varna, Burgas, Blagoevgrad as well as Ruse.

At the Varna meeting, delegations of the Netherlands Communist Party, the People's Party of Panama, the Norwegian Communist Party, the United Party of Haitian Communists, the Algerian National Liberation Front, the African Party for the independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde and the Jamaica Labor Party attended. Frederik Meis, Politburo member of the Netherlands Communist Party stated as follows: "Comrades, the Netherlands Communist Party delegation listened with great attention to Comrade Todor Zhivkov's report to the 12th BCP Congress. I followed this work with great attention, and particularly appreciated the great attention and competence with which your party is guiding Bulgaria's development in socioeconomic affairs."

In Ruse, the delegations of the Israeli Communist Party, the Swiss Labor Party, the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania, the Irish Communist Party, the Venezuelan Communist Party, Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe, the United People's Party of Bangladesh and the Communist Party of Sudan met with the population.

"Conveying warm greetings on behalf of the Israeli Communist Party, Emil Touma, Politburo member of the Israeli Communist Party Central Committee, dwelt on the aggressive nature of the Israeli upper class. The program of our party is to oppose creeping fascism, to stop the accelerating inflation, to liquidate the growing unemployment and put an end to the policy of social oppression and racial discrimination."

The Stara Zagora citizens welcomed delegations of the Finnish Communist Party, the Colombian Communist Party, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau of Cape Verde, the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon, the Communist Party of San Marino, the African National Congress of South Africa, the Bolivian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Sri Lanka. The meeting was led by Vasil Nedev, first secretary of the okrug party committee, and a statement was made by the leader of the Finnish delegation--Markus (kainaulainen). He expressed admiration for Bulgaria's economic successes.

Members of seven communist and revolutionary democratic parties which participated in the 12th BCP Congress visited Burgas today.

Representatives of the West Berlin SED, the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin, the Luxembourg Communist Party, the Mexican Communist Party, the National Progressive Unionist Grouping Party of Egypt, the Socialist Party of Working People of Nigeria and of the South-West African People's Organization spoke at the meeting. Harry Fliegbeil conveyed fraternal greetings on behalf of the West Berlin SED.

In Blagoevgrad, a rally was held at the "Nikola Vaptsarov" theater hall. First Secretary Vladimir Sandev of the okrug party chaired the meeting and cordially welcomed the following foreign delegations: The Canadian Communist Party, the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, the Australian Socialist Party, the Guadaloupe Communist Party, the Mali People's Democratic Union, the Communist Party of Martinique, the Dominican Communist Party and the Ecuador Communist Party.

Elizabeth Rowley, member of the Canadian Communist Party Executive Committee, expressed the delegates' greetings. She congratulated the Bulgarian people on their congress and successes, and stated that "at the present moment, the necessary conditions exist for convening an international conference of communist and workers parties, which should discuss the problems of preserving world peace and strengthening all forces struggling against imperialism and for national liberation and social progress."

DEPARTURES OF FOREIGN DELEGATIONS REPORTED

AU051435 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Text] The delegations of the MPRP, SED, PZPR, CPCZ, KNUFNS, the West Berlin United Socialist Party, the Communist Party of Bolivia, the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, the Communist Party of Egypt and the Communist Party of Iraq, which took part in the 12th BCP Congress, departed from Bulgaria.

More Delegations Depart

AU051950 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Text] The following delegations, which took part in the 12th BCP Congress, departed from Bulgaria: The Japanese Socialist Party, LCY, the German Communist Party, the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon, the Lao People's Democratic Party, the Austrian Communist Party, the Algerian FLN, the French Communist Party, the Congolese Labor Party, the Spanish Socialist Labor Party, the Communist Party of Brazil, the Italian Communist Party, the RCP and the representatives of the communist parties of Indonesia, Paraguay, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, the Philippines, the African Independence Party of Senegal, and other communist and workers parties' delegations.

PRESS REPORTS ON PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

AU021313 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 31 March 1981 carries on page 6, a 1,600-word report from a BTA Warsaw correspondent, entitled "The Situation Requires Vigilance and Effective Struggle Against the Political Enemies of Socialism." The report gives a detailed account of the speech delivered by Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the ninth plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. The Bulgarian correspondent's report mainly dwells on Barcikowski's statements about the situation in the country as a result of exisiting conflicts and about the activities of the Solidarity trade union. He quotes Barcikowski as stating that "during many conflicts a slanderous propaganda has been waged aimed at discrediting the leading cadres. Part of the campaign has been the attacks against the public security organs, with the goal of discrediting them in the eyes of society and weakening their power."

The Warsaw correspondent's report also quotes Barcikowski on statements of certain Solidarity leaders and on the publication of anticommunist pamphlets. "This is so, because adherents of right-wing political currents have penetrated various links of Solidarity and are trying to push the country along the path of creeping counterrevolution." The Warsaw correspondent also refers to Barcikowski's statement about the events of Bydgoszcz which are characterized as no longer "a pressure upon the state, but open struggle against the party, state power and socialism, a power struggle." The report further dwells on Barcikowski's appeal to the people's commonsense and for the party's consolidation. In referring to that portion of Barcikowski's speech dealing with the necessity of vigilance, he is quoted as stating: "We now have to cope with groups of the enemy which were organized long ago(such as KSS-KOR),the Confederation of Independent Poland), as well as with forces which are being revived today and which in the past used to be on the other side of the barricades of class struggle, of the struggle for people's power and for social changes in Poland." The Warsaw correspondent report only briefly mentions Kania's speech at the plenum, but amply refers to the Central Committee resolution adopted at the plenum. The correspondent's report stresses the resolution's appeal for unity of the party against all attempts "to undermine its prestige and distort its true character" and further quotes the appeal for struggle within the party against "views which weaken the party and its structure, undermine its ideological essence" and appeal to the party members to "oppose the influence of the enemies of socialism in certain links of solidarity, to consistently resist this influence and not allow the trade union from becoming a political organization causing social tension and unrest."

A brief news item by a Warsaw BTA correspondent follows, factually reporting on the talks held on 30 March between Solidarity and the Council of Ministers committee on trade union questions, as a result of which the strike scheduled for 31 March was called off.

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES SOVIET ACADEMICIAN 2 APRIL

AU022048 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] On 2 April Comrade Todor Zhivkov received Yuriy Ovchinnikov, vice president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. The possibilities of expanding Bulgarian-Soviet scientific cooperation were discussed during the talk, which took place in a cordial atmosphere.

SOFIA RADIO CITES TANJUG ON KOSOVO EVENTS

AU032110 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] At a joint meeting, the Presidency of the SFRY and the LCY Central Committee Presidium have discussed the situation in the Autonomous Region of Kosovo, in connection with the disorders which recently occurred in that area. As the TANJUG agency reports, the necessary measures have been adopted at the meeting for restoring calm and order in Kosovo. These measures have been approved by the Yugoslav Assembly.

ARMY DAILY COMMENTS ON U.S.-NATO RELATIONS

AU041319 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 26 Mar 81 p 4

[Ivan Konstantinov article: "Improper Role"]

[Text] Claiming to play the role of world gendarme, the United States is obviously aware of the fact that it is not all-powerful, that it is not capable of holding its imperialist position, and even less to conquer new ones. On a global scale, American hegemonism is meeting ever growing resistance by the peoples who are fighting for their national and social liberation. Just this fact necessitated creating a rather hypocritical theory as early as President Carter's administration on the so-called "division of labor." According to this theory, the Western allies of the United States, members of NATO, should consolidate and reorganize their armed forces in Western Europe so as to enable U.S. ships, marines and air force units to act freely in zones of crisis such as the Persian Gulf area, for example.

The present visit paid by Hans Appel, the West German minister of defense, to Washington is a new confirmation of the fact that the White House has decided to implement these plans as soon as possible. His talks with Caspar Weinberger, the head of the Pentagon, as well as the visits of the West German ministers preceeding him (Genscher and Lambsdorff) to Washington show that the United States is in a hurry to force the FRG into the uneviable role of "deputy sheriff." There is a great need for this indeed, since several other NATO partners are increasingly voicing their reserve in following the adventurous foreign policy of the United States.

In this connection, the West German Navy was entrusted with the task of becoming an important element in the striking force of NATO in the North Atlantic. The great maneuvers of the Federal Navy can be accepted as testimony to the readiness of the FRG Federal Navy to accept this mission. However, this does not seem to satisfy the Pentagon generals, and Washington is more and more stubbornly trying to involve its allies in areas outside NATO territories. Thus, West German military ships appeared for the first time in the Indian Ocean; there is talk about the "permanent presence" of the allied forces in this area, as well as about the creation of "European rapid deployment forces" according to the U.S. example. In order to cover their true goal, they are suppoed to be called "multinational," or even "international" forces. The facts show that the West German admirals and the political opposition leaders of the Christian Democratic Party fully support such ideas.

The pressure exerted by Washington upon the NATO allies is also following another trend. The annual 3-percent increase of military expenditures is no longer sufficient for President Reagan. Let us recall that the U.S. mlitary budget will increase by 7 percent within the forthcoming years, in order to reach $367.5 billion in 1986. Minister Appel's visit is taking place at a moment when, according to SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, the West German treasury has never been so empty as today. Let us not forget that the Bundeswehr needs DM22 billion just for the new "Tornado" aircraft, and another 15 billion for the purchase of tanks, armored cars and other military technical equipment.

For the sake of truth we must say that many soberly thinking people in the West, including in Bonn, are well aware of the fact of how disastrous the consequences of American adventurism may be, particularly regarding the crisis areas in the world. In this connection the London SUNDAY TELEGRAPH recently stated as follows: "Many leaders of the NATO member countries, dealing with foreign policy...are now of the opinion that the United States represents greater danger for the vitally important interests of Western Europe than the Soviet Union."

Obviously, the concept of "division of labor" of the warmongers and reactionaries is likely to bring about new complications in the international situation. In this respect the recent American-West German talks do not contribute anything to settling the crucial problems of our time--ensuring lasting peace and security on our planet.

ARMY PAPER ON LACK OF PROGRESS IN MBFR TALKS

AU041333 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 Mar 81 p 4

[Col Georgi Atanasov article: "Why Does the West Prolong the Vienna Negotiations?"]

[Text] More than 7 years have passed since the beginning of the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Western Europe. They have been proceeding without any results owing to the fault of the United States and its Western allies.

The stand of the socialist countries on these negotiations is determined by their general approach to problems of peace, security and disarmament. In following their principled policy, aimed at consolidating peace and security, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Pact, are devoting great attention to developing and intensifying the process of detente and thorough alleviation of international tension. All this once more confirms the peace program developed by the 26th CPSU program. The new complex of peaceful initiatives submitted by the USSR represents a comprehensive answer to the basic questions of our time. These peace initiatives are creating an utterly new atmosphere in international relations.

The dangerous policy of the NATO member countries is opposed by the participants in the Warsaw Pact alliance with a vast program to eliminate the threat of return to "cold war," consolidate mutual trust and understanding in international relations and direct the trend of events along a healthy and peaceful path.

The elaboration of practical agreements at the Vienna negotiations would represent a great contribution to reducing military confrontation on the European Continent and a great contribution to disarmament. A solid basis for such agreements exists. These are the coordinated decisions of the preparatory consultations, in the process of which the subject and principles of negotiations were determined. An agreement was reached concerning the fact that first of all, the negotiations will be devoted to the reduction not only of armed forces personnel, but also regarding armament; second, that the reductions will be of mutual character; and third, that the reduction of troops and the measures connected with it will refer to the area in central Europe upon which agreement has been reached.

Given such coordinated goals and principles, respective agreements should have been expected expected. This did not happen, however. The main reason for this is the unconstructive, and recently obstructionist character of the stand adopted by the NATO countries. As has happened in the past, these countries are trying to take advantage of the negotiations for obtaining one-sided military advantages to the detriment of the legitimate interests and security of the socialist states. At their last session, the leading NATO organs once again adopted decisions in this respect.

Assigning themselves a very definite goal--to change the balance of forces in central Europe to their own advantage--the Western particiapnts in the negotiations, in their first proposals, posed the question of the so-called "assymetric," namely unequal, reduction of the ground forces of both sides. As a result of this, the socialist countries must reduce in the area three times more troops than the NATO members, while the Soviet Union is supposed to withdraw, during the first stage, from the area in question a tank army of 68,000 soldiers and 1,700 tanks, in exchange for 28,000 American soldiers, without including the withdrawal of any military technical equipment or armament. Naturally, no state concerned about its own security would be ready to accept such conditions.

In order to justify their unfounded claim for one-sided military advantages, in the process of negotiations the Western representatives are claiming that, allegedely, the Warsaw Pact forces have essential superiority over the NATO members in the areas as regards the number of ground forces, which according to their estimation amount to over 150,000 men. They are not embarrassed by the universally known fact that almost all leaders of their countries, throughout many years, have admitted the existence of a military balance betwen the two military-political blocs in central Europe, as well as the whole European Continent.

The NATO member countries, however, declare that the figures and date submitted by the socialist countries do not satisfy them. The so-called "figure discussion" invented by them has been going on for over 4 years. The counting of troops and personnel, down to the last medical assistant and cook, shows how groundless the assertion of the Western representatives is regarding the "considerable superiority" of the Warsaw Pact in the number of troops in the respective area.

This noise about "figures" still goes on. Along the path of the "figure discussion," the NATO member states are trying to conceal their unwillingness to each mutually acceptable agreements.

The absence of political willingness in the NATO bloc countries to proceed along the path of alleviating military confrontation in central Europe and toward detente in that area is eloquently confirmed by the latest proposals submitted by the Western participants on 20 December 1979. These proposals, like the previous ones, emphasize the striving for military advantage to the detriment of the socialist countries' security, and the unwillingness of the Western partners to contribute to achieving agreements.

In the past, the Western countries were ready to determine, in the first stage, an agreement on the reduction of both Soviet and U.S. troops, and to commit themselves considerably to reduce, during the second stage, the number of troops of the direct participants in the negotiations, with the exception of troops belonging to the United States. Now they are trying to fully reject the reduction of Armed Forces of the FRG, Britain and the other West European countries which include more than three-quarters of the army personnel of the NATO contingent in central Europe.

It is necessary for us to recall the fact that in the past, these states were ready to agree not to increase their troops as soon as the agreement on the first stage was signed, and as soon as both the United States and the USSR had started to withdraw their troops. Now, the Western partners are not willing to assume any contractual obligations. It follows that the Western NATO member countries, who are direct participants in the negotiations, including the FRG, can if they wish increase their armed forces in that area.

Now, the NATO members are absolutely refusing to reduce and limit armament. There is even more: The Western participants in the negotiations renounced their agreement to withdraw part of the American nuclear weapons and certain means for their delivery. They had agreed to do so in 1975. As to their formal proposal to reduce American means of delivering nuclear weapons, the NATO members, represented at the Vienna negotiations, now prefer not to mention this, as if they had never submitted such a proposal.

Trying to obtain, as soon as possible, the first concrete results, the USSR and the other socialist countries adopted an important new initiative in the interest of reaching agreement. On 9 July 1980, they submitted new proposals. According to these proposals, the socialist countries consider it necessary to concentrate primary attention on working out an agreement for the first stage (reduction of U.S. and Soviet troops). In this connection they propose to reduce 20,000 Soviet and 13,000 American soldiers. In addition to this, they do not include the 20,000 Soviet soldiers which were withdrawn from the GDR in August 1980. It is important to stress that the socialist countries agree with the number by which to reduce U.S. troops (13,000) proposed by the Western countries, while the reduction of Soviet soldiers will practically reach 40,000 soldiers. As to the United States, I must note that since 1976, until today, they have increased the number of their armed contingent in the FRG alone, by 26,000 men, and this according to official U.S. data.

In the interest of reaching an agreement, the socialist countries are ready to establish, after two stages of reduction, such a mechanism of keeping up the collective ceiling of the number of armed forces of respective military-political blocs, likely to ensure that the number of armed forces of one side does not surpass 50 percent of the general collective ceiling of 900,000 men for each of the two blocs. As we see from the contents of these proposals, they take into consideration a number of wishes expressed by the Western countries. However, we are still waiting to see how the Western representatives react to our proposals at the present round of negotiations.

It is no secret that the negative stand of the NATO member countries on all trends of the Vienna negotiations undoubtedly is a consequence of the general trend followed by the NATO bloc's increasing military preparations. Particular danger is contained in the NATO decision on the production and deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

There is one unmistakable fact, however: The trend followed by the Western delegations in Vienna is increasingly adapting itself to the NATO long-term planning, which has assigned itself the unrealistic goal of achieving military superiority over the Warsaw Pact member countries in the important area of the European Continent. As Leonid Ilich Brezhnev declared in his report to the 26th CPSU Congress: "We must frankly say that if the Western countries continue to protract these negotiations, by increasing, at the same time, their military potential in Europe, we must take this fact into consideration.

ZHIVKOV, TODOROV CONGRATULATE USSR ON SPACE FLIGHT

AU042050 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Apr 81 p 12

[Message of greetings from BCP Central Committee First Secretary Todor Zhivkov and Council of Ministers Chairman Todorov to CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Brezhnev and Council of Ministers Chairman Tikhonov on the Soyuz-39 space flight]

[Text] To Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Nikolay Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Moscow:

Dear comrades, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Bulgarian people and on our own behalf, we send to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, the fraternal Soviet people and to you personally, most cordial greetings on the occasion of the successful space flight, included in the international "Intercosmos" program, with the participation of the famous Soviet Cosmonaut Vladimir Dzhanibekov, commander of the Soyuz-39 spaceship, and the first cosmonaut-pioneer of fraternal Mongolia Jugderdemidiyn Gurragcha.

The space flight of the new space brothers, which has been carried out immediately after the historic 26th CPSU Congress and on the eve of the 8th Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Congress, is a brilliant manifestation of the unbreakable and sincere friendship linking the peoples of the USSR and Mongolia. This is also clear evidence of the consistent internationalism of the great USSR, and further proof of the constantly deepening fraternal cooperation among the countries of the socialist community.

The joint work carried out on board of the Salyut-6, Soyuz-T4 and Soyuz-39 complex, by the international Soviet-Mongolian crew and by Cosmonauts Vladimir Kovalenok and Viktor Savinykh, is a major contribution to the development of space science and an implementation of the program for researching of space for peaceful purposes. This flight is a further step along the path to mankind's mastering outer space, which was traced 20 years ago by the unforgetable Yuriy Gagarin.

We wish you, dear comrades, and the participants in the preparation and carrying out of this flight, as well as to all who are working in the sphere of peacefully mastering outer space, further and ever greater successes in the well-being of your great motherland, in the name of progress and for the triumph of socialism and communism.

[Signed] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

DELEGATES ARRIVE FOR 16TH CPCZ CONGRESS IN PRAGUE

Arrival of Brezhnev, Delegation

LD051220 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Summary] A short while ago the special plane carrying the Soviet delegation landed at Prague airport. Everyone's eyes now are directed toward the door of the plane.

"At this moment the plane door is opening and Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, the leader of the CPSU delegation to the 16th CPCZ Congress, is descending the steps. He is cordially welcomed by everyone who has come to welcome the esteemed guest.

"Immediately in front of the plane Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committtee and president of the republic; and other highest party representatives are present to welcome the guests.

"First sincere handshakes, friendly embraces and welcoming words. This is always so when we are welcoming friends, the representatives of the USSR, our closest friends, with whom we are following the same path, the same goal. Czechoslovak and Soviet pioneers are presenting bouquets of red flowers to the esteemed guests.

"After Comrade Brezhnev, other members of the delegation are walking down the red carpeted steps. Eduard Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee; Kontantin Rusakaov, CPSU Central Committee secretary; and Ivan Sokolov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and second secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee.

"Vladimir Gusev, first secretary of the Saratov CPSU regional committee; Andrey Alexandrov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and assistant to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary; and Aleksandr Botvin, USSR ambassador to Czechoslovakia, will join the delegation here in Prague. "The Soviet Party delegation is accompanied by Leonid Zamyatin, CPSU Central Committee member and head of a CPSU Central Committee department, and other Soviet party representatives.

"The atmosphere in which the welcoming ceremony is taking place is festive. Our and the red Soviet flags are flying, as are many little red flags. There is a big slogan on the airport building: 'Welcome to Foreign Delegations to the CPCZ Congress!' "The welcoming ceremony is slowly ending. The Soviet guests and our highest party representatives are getting into cars which will take them into festively decorated Prague."

Olszowski Heads PZPR Delegation

NC051616 Paris AFP in English 1605 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Text] Prague, 5 Apr (AFP)--Polish Communist Party Politburo member Stefan Olszowski and not party chief Stanislaw Kania will head Poland's delegation to the Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress, officials here said today.

Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev was the only top leader to appear on the list of delegates from Eastern European communist parties, thus virtually ruling out any possibility of a socialist summit here.

The Czechoslovak party congress opens tomorrow.

Hoffmann Greets Poles

LD052224 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Text] Prague, 5 Apr (PAP)--On 5 April a PZPR delegation arrived in Prague for the 16th CPCZ Congress.

Leading the delegation is Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. In the delegation are Jozef Masny, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Opole Voivodship PZPR Committee; Lucjan Piatkowski, member of the central party Control Commission and deputy director of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Central Committee; and Jan Mitrega, Poland's ambassador to the CSSR.

At the airport the delegation was met by Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, and other officials.

Other Delegations Attending

LD041944 Prague CTK in English 1540 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Text] Prague, 3 Apr (CETEKA)--The first delegations arrived here today to attend the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia which opens on Monday, April 6.

The delegation of the Party Congress of the Independence of Madagascar is headed by Manan I. Rakotomalala, member of the Politburo of its Central Committee;

The delegation of the Socialist Party of Australia is led by Allen Miller, member of the Politburo;

The delegation of the Communist Party of the United States is headed by Politburo member Thomas Denise;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Canada by Gordon Massie, member of its Central Committee;

The delegation of the Mexican Communist Party by Antonio Franco, member of the Central Committee Secretariat;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Colombia by Manuel Cepeda Cargas, member of the Central Committee Secretariat;

The delegation of the Communist Party of San Marino by Maurizio Gobbi, member of its Central Committee; and the

Delegation of the Communist Party of Finland, led by Urho Jokinen, member of the Central Committee Politburo.

A great number of foreign guests to the 16th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party have been welcomed at Prague airport on Saturday.

The delegation of the Communist Party of Cuba is headed by its Central Committee Political Bureau member Pedro Miret Prieto;

The delegation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party is headed by party Political Bureau member Damdinjavyn Maydar;

The delegation of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) is led by member of its Political Bureau Georgis Genimatas;

The delegation of the Communist Party of Venezuela is led by member of party Political Bureau Jorge Santana.

Already present in Prague are also delegations of the Communist Party of Belgium, led by member of its Central Committee Albert de Caninck; the Swiss Party of Labour, led by Central Committee member Benjamin Degen; the Netherlands Communist Party, led by Central Committee member Johan Frederik Ijsberg; the Communist Party of Great Britain, led by Central Committee member Irene Swan; the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania, led by member of the party National Executive Committee Laurent Mwalula Mabada; and a delegation of the Turkish Communist Party.

A delegation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, led by member of its Political Bureau and Deputy Premier Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand, arrived here Saturday afternoon.

Welcomed at the airport later on Saturday was a delegation of the Korean Party of Labour, led by member of its Central Committee Kim Kyong-yon.

More Delegations

LD051751 Prague CTK in English 1627 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Text] Prague, 5 Apr (CETEKA)--Further delegations of communist and workers parties and of national democratic movements were arriving here on Sunday to attend the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, starting on Monday.

The delegation of the Cambodian United Front for National Salvation is led by Central Committee Vice-Chairman Chea Sim; the delegation of the Commission for Founding the Party of the Workers of Ethiopia (COPWE) is led by Executive Committee member Berhanu Bayihe; the delegation of the Yemen Socialist Party is headed by alternate member of the Political Bureau and Central Committee Secretary Abdullah Chamri; the delegation of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) is led by Central Committee Political Bureau member Jannis Katsuridis; and the delegation of the Dominican Communist Party is headed by Executive Committee member Juan Persia.

Other guests included a delegation of the Communist Party of Japan led by Central Committee member Hitoshi Sasaki; a delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand led by National Secretary George Jackson; a delegation of the Swedish Workers' Communist Party led by Chairman Rolf Hagel; a delegation of the Communist Party of Ireland led by Deputy Chairman Ron Redmond; a delegation of the Panama People's Party headed by Central Committee Political Bureau member Cleto M. Souza; a delegation of the Lebanese Communist Party led by Chairman Nicolas Shawi; a delegation of the Peruvian Communist Party led by member of the Central Committee Political Commission Alfredo Abarca; a delegation of the Popular Vanguard Party of Costa Rica led by member of the Central Committee Political Commission Eduardo Mora; and a delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organization headed by Executive Committee member Tahsir Khalid.

Also welcomed were a delegation of the African National Congress of South Africa led by General Secretary Alfred Nzo; a delegation of the New Movement-Jewel of Grenada headed by Transport Minister Selwyn Stratchman; a delegation of the Jamaica Workers' Party led by Central Committee member Rupert Levis; a delegation of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana headed by Central Committee Secretary Janet Jagan; a delegation of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands led by Central Committee Political Bureau member Tiago Aleluia Lopes; a delegation of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique led by Political Committee member Mario Fernandes da Graca Machungo; a delegation of the South African Communist Party; a delegation of the Communist Party of Chile led by member of its Central Committee Political Commission Voldoia Teitelboim; and of the Socialist Party of Chile.

A delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam led by Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Nguyen Duy Trinh; a delegation of the Angolan MPLA--Party of Labour headed by Political Bureau member and Central Committee Secretary Henrique Carvalho dds Santos; a delegation of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka led by Central Committee Political Bureau member Pieter Keuneman; a delegation of the Communist Party of Austria led by Central Committee Political Bureau member Anton Hofer; a delegation of the Danish Communist Party led by Central Committee Presidium member Bo Rosscha; a delegation of the Communist Party of Norway led by Central Committee Presidium member 'Odd Ragnar Kristiansen; a delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) headed by Central Committee Politburo member Horst Sindermann and a delegation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia led by Central Committee Presidium member Dobroslav Culafic.

Hungarians, Others

LD052246 Prague CTK in English 1909 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Text] Prague, 5 Apr (CETEKA)--Czechoslovak Communist Party officials welcomed on Sunday further delegations arriving here to attend the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

They included a delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party led by Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Miklos Ovari, a Bulgarian Communist Party delegation headed by Central Committee Politburo member Todor Bozhinov, a delegation of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party led by Central Committee Politburo member Phoumi Vongvichit, and a Libyan delegation headed by member of the Libyan revolutionary leadership 'Abd as-Salam Ahmad Jallud.

Already present in Prague are also a delegation of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party of Iraq led by member of the Iraqi regional leadership Hikmat Ibrahim, a delegation of the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) led by member of its national Executive Committee Peter Mweshihang, a delegation of the Communist Party of Malta led by its secretary Paul Aguise and of the Malta Labour Party led by its secretary Alexis Trigona, a delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin led by member of the Leadership Bureau and party Secretariat Heinz Thomaszik.

Other foreign guests who arrived here Sunday include a delegation of the Arab Socialist Renaissance (Ba'th) Party of Syria led by member of its Central Committee Fawwaz Sayagh and of the Communist Party of Syria headed by member of its Central Committee Political Bureau Maurice Salibi, a delegation of the Jordanian Communist Party led by member of the Central Committee Political Bureau Suleyman Nanjab. Welcomed at Prague airport were also a delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party headed by member of its Central Committee Political Commission Carlos Costa, and a delegation of the Communist Party of Luxembourg led by Central Committee member Jacqueline Urbany.

Romanian Delegates

LD060836 [Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak at 2000 GMT on 4 April reports that the RCP delegation to the 16th CPCZ Congress arrived by air on the evening of 4 April and is headed by Gheorghe Oprea, RCP Political Executive Committee member and Romanian first deputy premier.

HUSAK MEETS WITH BREZHNEV IN PRAGUE CASTLE

LD051232 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, held a meeting in Prague Castle today with the CPSU delegation headed by Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the Central Committee. Afterwards a friendly discussion took place between Comrades Gustav Husak and Leonid Brezhnev. The two leading representatives exchanged information on topical issues of the activities of the CPCZ and the CPSU as well as the development of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation. They also exchanged views on some international issues. The friendly conversation between Comrades Gustav Husak and Leonid Brezhnev was held in a cordial and fraternal atmosphere.

BENO HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE ON CONGRESS PLENUM

LD052154 Prague CTK in English 1818 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Text] Prague, 5 Apr (CETEKA)--A total of 114 foreign delegations have arrived here to attend the 16th Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress Central. Committee Secretary Mikulas Beno told a press conference here on Sunday.

He stressed that the Czechoslovak Communist Party is sincerely interested in developing friendly relations with fraternal communist and workers parties, with all forces striving for peace and social progress in the world. Apart from communist and workers parties, social democratic and national socialist parties and national liberation movements have been invited to attend the congress. The congress plenum will be addressed by the leaders of party delegations of the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic. Representatives of other foreign delegations will deliver their speeches at public meetings with the working people.

Reviewing the preparations for the congress, Mikulas Beno said that the Central Committee highly appreciated the working and political activity of the people. The preparations took place in a creative atmosphere of active support for the party policy, an atmosphere reflecting the determination of the people to defend peace and security and assert the policy of detente.

At the special press centre of the congress, journalists will be able to meet representatives of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, the government and foreign guests. So far, 250 journalists from Europe, Africa, Asia, America and Australia have been accredited to the congress.

PRAGUE TV CARRIES RELAY OF OPENING OF CPCZ CONGRESS

AU061300 [Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech at 0750 GMT on 6 April 1981 begins a live Intervision relay in color of the opening day of the 16th CPCZ Congress held in Prague's newly opened Palace of Culture. The relay opens with shots of the interior of the palace and shots of the delegates and guests in the Congress hall. Visible behind the dais, the back and side rows of which are already filled with officials, is a red flag bearing the pictures of Lenin and Gottwald, and the inscription "In Firm Unity Between the CPCZ and the People Toward Further Successes in Building an Advanced Socialist Society."

At about 0756 GMT the camera shows the delegates rising as high-ranking officials, led by CPCZ General Secretary Gustav Husak and CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, enter the hall and take their seats in the front rows of the dais, accompanied by chants of "Long Live the CPCZ" and "Long Live the Soviet Union." At 0804 GMT, following the Czechoslovak national anthem, the camera focuses on Gustav Husak who declares the congress open, welcomes Leonid Brezhnev and other guests and delegates, to the applause of the audience, and puts the congress Presidium to the vote. After their unanimous election, members of the congress Presidium are seen leaving their seats in the auditorium and filling the empty seats in the dais.

Then CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Secretary Bilak, while remaining seated, welcomes the foreign delegations from 102 countries attending the congress, mentioning only the CPSU delegation members by name, with the camera panning the audience and the rows in which the foreign guests are seated. Bilak then calls on the delegates to pay tribute to CPCZ Central Committee members and outstanding foreign communists--including Kosygin and Tito--who have died since the 15th CPCZ Congress, which they do by honoring them with a minute of silence. Bilak proceeds by putting to a vote the congress agenda and the composition of various congress commissions, which are subsequently unanimously approved. At about 0823 GMT Bilak asks General Secretary Husak to deliver the report of the CPCZ Central Committee "On the Fulfillment of the Conclusions of the 15th Congress and on Tasks in the Period to Come."

At 0824 GMT Husak proceeds to the rostrum and delivers the main report. He speaks until 1000 GMT, when Vasil Bilak interrupts the speech and announces a 30-minute intermission, during which the documentary film "Symphony on Human Labor" is shown.

The relay resumes at 1033 GMT when the last delegates and officials are seen taking their seats in the auditorium and the dais. At 1034 GMT Husak takes the floor again and delivers the second part of his speech. During Husak's speech the camera is trained mostly on the speaker, from time to time cutting to and panning the audience and Brezhnev and other officials and guests in the dias. The following officials, seated from left to right, can be identified in the front row of the dais: Kabrhelova, Jakes, Kapek, Hula, Colotka, Indra, Brezhnev, Bilak, Strougal, Kempny, Lenart, Korcak, Hoffmann and Hruskovic. CPCZ officials Svestka, Havlin, Fojtik, Beno, Haman, Polednik and Capka can be identified among those sitting in the second row.

Husak's speech, which lasts until 1216 GMT, is interrupted by applause and chanting several times. At 1216 GMT the camera shows Husak returning to his seat in the front row of the dais, while the audience gives him a standing ovation. At about 1219 GMT Vasil Bilak adjourns the congress until 1350 GMT while the television announcer declares that the live relay is finished.

TRADE UNION COUNCIL PLEDGES LOYALTY TO CPCZ POLICY

LD051944 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Text] The Central Council of Trade Unions has sent a letter to delegates to the 16th CPCZ Congress. On behalf of more than 7 million working people, members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the Central Council expresses firm support and unswerving loyalty to party policy aiming at the further progress and development of the socialist society.

The council also recalls in the letter that our working class and working intelligentsia, and other strata of the working people, are expressing their attitude to CPCZ policy through their committed and responsible work. They are developing socialist competition and the movement of innovators and inventors, and contributing through their selfless work to the strengthening of our economy with the aim of achieving higher effectiveness and quality of work, and to generally increasing the effectiveness of our socialist economy.

Through their committed attitude and deeds, the working people are fully identifying themselves with the policy of the party whose Central Committee, with Comrade Gustav Husak at the head, are purposefully and deliberately leading our people toward the implementation of the socioeconomic program of the party, the development of socialist democracy and the ensuring of a peaceful and constructive life.

The Central Council of Trade Unions further emphasizes in the letter to the delegates to the 16th party congress that trade unions are achieving successes in their work in the interest of the working people by their adoption of class and internationalist stands in keeping with the political line of the CPCZ.

The past 30 years have reliably shown that support for the policy of the CPCZ and everyday participation in its realization have brought about good results, have won social prestige, and have won the trust of the working people in the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.

The first months of the current Seventh 5-Year Plan have also amounted to an expression of the creative collective endeavor of trade unionists to consistently fulfill the line of party and trade union bodies, and organizations will continue to work toward higher effectiveness and quality of all work, toward the implementation of scientific-technolgocal progress, a more active contribution of the working people toward the creation of the plan and management of production, toward better utilization of the material-technological basis of material and human resources, toward the introduction of strict discipline and economy-awareness and of the principles of socialist rewards for work in all spheres.

The Central Council of Trade Unions further states in the letter to the delegates to the 16th CPCZ Congress that trade unions are fully supporting the implementation of the social program of the party, which is one of the key goals of its policy, in line with the interests of the working people, and which provides a long-term prospect for the years to come.

A substantial part of social development lies in the further development of the creation of the socialist way of life, in the creation of socialist man who is able to absorb socialist ideas and implement them in practice. The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement will be making as resolute a contribution as possible to securing a truly workers' policy carried out by the CPCZ.

The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement is giving its full support to internationalist cooperation with other fraternal countries as the main guarantee of the construction of socialism. Through all its activity it will contribute to the further strengthening of the international action unity of the revolutionary forces and the world socialist system, whose grandiose long-term prospects were outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress.

At the end of the letter the Central Council of Trade Unions assures the delegates to the 16th CPCZ Congress that in the forthcoming period, too, in the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, even under more demanding conditions, the CPCZ can fully rely on the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement as the closest fellow-fighter and pillar in the construction of an advanced socialist society.

PRAVDA ON POLISH SOLIDARITY 'ULTIMATUM'

AU031245 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Apr 81 p 7

[J. Lipavsky-P. Minarik Warsaw dispatch: "General Strike Lifted for the Time Being; 'Solidarity's' Ultimatum Again in the Offing"]

[Text] The stormy deliberations of "Solidarity's" National Consultative Commission in Gdansk, which was squabbling during the night of Tuesday-Wednesday about whether to accept the results of L. Walesa's agreement with the government, reflected both the sharp, up to now frequently concealed, conflicts reigning in this organization, and also the growing influence of those leaders of regional organizations who make no secret of their hostility toward the party and the people's power, toward the socialist system and the Soviet Union.

It was only after a furious clash between "Solidarity's" "two lines," a clash full of mutual personal insults and suspicions, that an agreement full of antagonisms emerged, to lift the general strike that was originally declared for 31 March. But simultaneously they are holding a knife at the throat of the Government of the Polish People's Republic: If it fails to fulfill all the demands submitted by "Solidarity"--according to some, by the middle of April; to others, by June--the general strike will take place. This conclusion was reached by a voting majority of 25 to 4 demanding an immediate general strike, with 6 abstentions. Ten delegates did not take part in the voting.

L. Walesa, who only a few weeks ago was literally idolized by those nearest to him in the National Consultative Commission, now found himself in the crossfire of the "hawks'" criticism. They reproached him for "capitulating" before the government. Mr. Rulewski, "Solidarity" leader in Bydgoszcz, sent a telegram "scorning" those who had negotiated with the government and "won nothing." The leader of the "independent trade unions" in Czenstochowa shouted that "in fact nothing has been gained" from the warning strike and "Solidarity's" Bydgoszcz action. The air is audibly escaping from the balloon, and who is going to blow it up again? Others pitched into Walesa and his deputy Gwiazda telling them that this kind of concession-making would not bring them far.

It lay in the air that Lech Walesa's rivals were scrambling after his job, in a most peculiar manner.... They kept blaming him for, they said, conspicuously retreating lately and "fraternizing" with the government. Did he arrange for Moczulski to be released from custody, so that he would have freedom of action? He did not. He failed to make the government guarantee not to touch a hair on the heads of KOR members, particularly Kuron and Michnik. From the repentance act in Warsaw he had only brought something half-baked. The son of Mr Bartoszczak, that very Bartoszczak who together with Rulewski and others had invaded the premises of the People's Voivodship Council on Bydgoszcz with the intention of taking hold of this state building, the son of this very Bartoszcz--in his fury at Walesa's not arranging for the registration of so-called Rural Solidarity--threatened: "There was Bydgoszcz, but in 2-3 weeks' time everything could start all over again. And this time there would be real bloodshed."

Other "hawks" attested to receiving telephone calls from certain voivodships, which told them that they had everything prepared for seizing public buildings and that everything would take its proper course.

The words uttered by B. Lis, one of Walesa's collaborators, have come true; prior to the session of the Consultative Commission he said: "It is difficult to say whether the commission will accept all we have agreed upon." Likewise, the truth of what Walesa told the journalists before the session began has also become apparent: "Certain members of the Consultative Commission have cut themselves off from their voters, from the rank-and-file members. Now they represent only themselves." And during a recess in the negotiations he repeated: "There are people in this hall who now really represent only themselves, who have forgotten whence they have come, who neither see nor hear...."

At the beginning of Lech Walesa's career somebody said that this man would set in motion the machinery that would sooner or later destroy him, and allow certain leaders to adopt positions that are outright antisocialist. The second half of this statement has now become a reality. It may also be typical of Walesa's "changes" that on 31 March he called for moderation and commonsense, although this whole time those nearest to him had been learning the very opposite from him. Today they can even call him a "heretic," especially when he publicly proclaims that government insight into many things is more profound than that of "Solidarity." Thus, since the confidence in the leader is shaken, precautions must be taken against his possible "betrayal." And so, Leszek or not, Solidarity's course with regard to the government and the party must be hardened.

Although the strike alert has apparently been lifted, by Wednesday evening the Consultative Commission had still not issued an order to stop accumulating and storing foodstuffs, stop readying the plants and stop preparing to occupy the plants. Everything remains on a full reserve alert; the duplicating machines and small printing presses continue pouring out leaflets and seditious bulletins, not one of which calls for calm and honest work. On the contrary, they inspire distrust in the adopted agreement, in the government's policy and in the results of the Ninth PZPR Central Committee plenum. At the same time various hints about Poland's alliance with the Soviet Union are multiplying. Exactly at the time Solidarity's National Consultative Commission previously mentioned was in session, in some places in the country unknown agents provocateurs desecrated certain monuments of Soviet heroes who had laid down their lives for Poland's liberation. The anarchy evoked by KOR followers has opened the gates for the grossest kind of anti-Sovietism. Strategists like Kuron and Michnik have already prepared plans for "social resistance against the eastern empire." Young inexperienced people who form the majority of "Solidarity's" members--and who know about the terrors of World War II only from books and about the national liberation fight only from what they have been told by their fathers and grandfathers--these young people are being dragged into the dirty game. National sentiments and patriotism are being abused here for antisocialist aims.

It is thus no coincidence that the PZPR Central Committee and other party bodies are receiving resolutions from many party organizations, which are voicing grave concern about the further fate of the country and the party.

On 31 March and 1 April the newspapers wrote that Poland's society was greatly relieved when the government and "Solidarity" reached an agreement. However, immediately after the initialing of the agreement and at the very time when "Solidarity's" National Consultative Commission was in session, concern began to grow among Polish families and Poland's friends abroad that the history of Bydgoszcz, Lodz, Ustrzyki and other places of unrest could be repeated. L. Walesa did tell a television reporter that Polish citizens could now sleep in peace; but he added that he could not swear by this. Some of his people want to continue the harsh and constant confrontation with the government and the party; he himself, he told the reporter, wants to sit at the round table with the government, even at the price of concessions--because, he said, it is impossible to continue incessantly destroying each other.

All these things are mere words, the Polish comrades say. Let us wait for the deeds. And ZYCIE WARSZAWY wrote in good faith and with hope: Let us try again to start counting the 90 days of general calm which Premier Jaruzelski had called for.

PRAGUE RADIO ON POLISH SOLIDARITY DEVELOPMENTS

Moscow PRAVDA Advice

LD031506 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Today's Soviet paper PRAVDA points out that the tension of the past few days can be felt virtually everywhere in Poland: in talks with people, on leaflets stuck on the walls of buildings, in commentaries of the local press and television. The suspension of the general strike, prepared for last Tuesday, for a while mitigated the threat of the serious trials which the strike would have produced in the country and into which rightwing elements in Walesa's trade unions are leading Poland.

PRAVDA goes on to say that every sensible person realizes that the essence of the situation is no longer merely pressure on the bodies of power but that it lies in an outright struggle of the rightwing elements in Walesa's trade unions for power, against the party and the socialist state.

Extremist forces in Walesa's trade unions have basically gone over to an overt political struggle. They are taking advantage of the crisis-ridden situation in the country. They have set up groups of adversaries to socialism with a broad propaganda campaign directed against the PZPR and the state bodies. Even some revanchist circles in the West are seeking to fish in these murky waters.

In some regions of Poland, for example in Gdansk, Elblag and Poznan provinces, leaflets of neofascist and revanchist organizations written in German are being distributed. Their authors are organizations with their roots in the Federal Republic of Germany, the Oder-Neisse Action and the Association of East German Landowners. These leaflets are once again presenting provocative territorial claims and contain anti-Polish attacks.

PRAVDA points out that the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum focused the attention of the party and all sound forces in society on the need of stepping up a political struggle against the enemies of socialist construction, so that the process of renewal could proceed in the interests of the people and the state. Communists are pointing out that now, when hostile attacks are being launched against the party, its unity and cohesion are of exceptional importance. The party must unite internally, consolidate the fundamental criteria of party mindedness, such as loyalty to Marxist-Leninist ideology, patriotism and internationalism, a struggle against [as heard] socialism and hostile views.

In the complicated period which Poland is now experiencing, communists and all Polish working people highly value the fraternal aid which the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are offering their country in solving complex problems concludes the Soviet paper PRAVDA in its article today.

West Supports Antisocialists

LD031712 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] There exists more and more evidence that antisocialist forces in Poland are being supported by Western espionage centers. Today's Polish press carries new facts about this support. Stefan Simak, our correspondent in Warsaw, has this to say about it:

[Begin recording] Today it is rather difficult to identify at first sight the enemies of socialist Poland. This is because they have put on the mantle of the friends of the working class, penetrated into its ranks and are endeavoring to realize their basic strategic aim, that is to bring about the erosion of socialism from within. These counterrevolutionary elements have found their solid position in the Walesa trade union organization, where they are gradually taking over segment after segment of this organization and are undermining basic structures of society.

As the army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI writes today, a class struggle is currently taking place in Poland while on the other side there is a ruthless enemy ready for anything. It is a strong enemy. Its strength is not determined by the number of its members but by the Mafia-like methods of their activity and by its links with imperialism and support from various diversionist agencies.

These agencies are scattered the world over, but the most active of them are in the United States. With the blessing of the FBI and CIA there came into existence 5 years ago the agency "Free Poland." Since last year this diversionary organization has been maintaining direct and, as their officials are quick to emphasize, official contacts with the antisocialist grouping KOR, which is operating unlawfully but albeit untroubled in Poland and whose officials, Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik and others, are operating as political advisors to Solidarity and are helping to organize strikes and spread unrest. [end recording]

'War of Nerves'

LD031928 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] In the so-called Solidarity unions in Poland, people are gaining the upper hand who do not desire socialism. Leaders of the Solidarity unions are pressuring the government for political concessions. They are openly seeking confrontation with the state system. Antisocialist forces within the leadership of the Walesa-headed union are reinforcing their positions. They are getting ready for launching further disturbances and [words indistinct] against the socialist basis of People's Poland. This dangerous game is headed by what is called Committee for Social and Political Self-Defense led by Jacek Kuron, who is one of Lech Walesa's close advisers. People of his type are proceeding according to thoroughly prepared plans. They are now endeavoring to undermine Poland's United Workers' Party by fostering revisionist tendencies. At the same time they are trying to paralyze the country's security forces and army. They are playing a hazardous game, and, according to their ideas, Poland is to be turned into some kind of Christian democratic state, which would have nothing in common with socialism.

At a recent meeting at Warsaw University people presenting this so-called Self-Defense Committee fiercely attacked socialism, denying all its achievements.

They maintained that the discussion about socialism in Poland is closed. They maintained that socialism in Poland had been a freak and that the people desire a national democratic system.

Their supporters in the West are loudly praising these antisocialist forces, who are applauded across the Atlantic, and dollar injections are to encourage their boundless impertinence. The West is toying with the idea of economic pressure against Poland's Government, if any when this government will take steps against these people who are violating the laws of their own country. All this is a war of nerves, waged now at the expense of Poland, waged to weaken the unity of socialist countries, waged even to violate the military balance of forces in Europe.

In the light of the present deterioration of the international atmosphere, with the West ignoring the possible consequences of a new round of the arms race, this anti-Polish campaign is acquiring new characteristics posing a threat to Europe's life in peace.

'Facts' on Rulewski

LD032310 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Excerpt] More facts are now being revealed which relate to one of the Bydgoszcz provocateurs--Rulewski--whose alleged injuries became the pretext for Solidarity scandalizing the state and party representatives, and increasing the social tension in the country.

It has been revealed that this sworn enemy of socialism was still in prison in 1965, punished for an attempt to illegally cross the border. His attitude to the socialist society must have been given to him by his family, which in the years of Hitler's occupation subscribed to German Fascists, and the occupational administration registered it in so-called Volksdeutsche. Rulewski's father, furthermore, actively participated in the Fascist Army, and fought on the Eastern Front.

It has also been revealed why Solidarity was making the investigation of the road accident difficult--the accident, in which Rulewski a few days before the Bydgoszcz provocations killed a 33 year-old pedestrian. Traces of the alleged beating, which were presented at the investigation as evidence, were caused precisely by this road accident.

'Unscrupulous Attacks'

LD051649 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Text] Poland--The first all-national meeting of the so-called Independent Association of Students, which began on Friday, is continuing in Krakow. The participants in the session are to approve amendments to regulations adopted earlier and elect the national coordinating commission.

A Krakow student spokesman has admitted that this movement came into existence as a student committee of the present organization of Walesa's trade unions in Krakow as early as 1977 and was developing together with the so-called Social Self-Defense Committee, a counterrevolutionary organization known by the abbreviation KOR.

The participants in the session held in Krakow are making unscrupulous attacks on the Socialist Union of Polish Students and speak about close contacts between their association and Walesa's trade unions. Allegedly, it is their goal to set up a selective organization and unite in it the intellectual elite of students.

POSTPONEMENT OF POLISH SEJM SESSION REPORTED

LD041750 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Text] The Presidium of the Polish Parliament announced today that the Parliament session planned for Monday, 4 April, will be postponed until Friday, 10 April. The reason of this postponement is the busy working schedule of the chairman of the Polish Ministerial Council, Wojciech Jaruzelski.

RUDE PRAVO EDITORIAL ON NATIONAL FRONT, COMMUNISTS

AU041455 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Mar 81 p 1

[Editorial: "The National Front and Communists"]

[Text] In our country we have once and for all put an end to the fraudulent game of the so-called pure, supraclass democracy. Our people have had enough opportunity to convince themselves about whom it really served, whom it suited to pass off the existence of more than two dozen political parties as the pinnacle of perfecting a social system, including the jealousy of numerous and dimunitive parties, their political venality and, above all, their endeavors to vie with one another in deceiving honest people, as God knows what unprecedented, very humane accomplishment.

Therefore, after the liberation in 1945 our people sincerely welcomed the fact that we had thrown away that mask of bourgeois hypocrisy, and that we have openly and self-confidently identified with another, much more progressive alternative--with the policy of the National Front. The unity of the working people from the cities and the countryside, born and tested during the national liberation and antifascist struggle: This is the foundation of the National Front. And the National Front, on the initiative of communists, became the foundation for building the liberated fatherland.

From the initiative and goal-oriented endeavor of the Communist Party, this foundation for the development of real socialist democracy came into being, in which there is no place for creating political chaos--that famous "pluralism"--or misusing it against the working people and their class interests. February 1948 created the conditions then for developing the position and function of the National Front as a class bond of workers, farmers and working intelligentsia. The victory of the socialist revolution eliminated all obstacles which stood in the path of the progressive development of the National Front as the broadest basis of socialist democracy.

The inception and development of the National Front were not coincidental. It was logically an indivisible part of our political system, whose nucleus is the CPCZ. The National Front is the expression of the unity of the fundamental class, national and international interests of the workers class and the rest of the working people. It is our great accomplishment, enabling the broadest strata of society to actively and creatively participate in formulating, implementing and controlling policy, whose sole objective and purpose are the needs and interests of the workers class and all working people.

"In contrast to capitalism, which identifies with democracy in words, but in practice mercilessly suppresses the efforts of the working people for a truly humane life, our social system gives real content to the concept of freedom, human rights, democracy and social justice. True democracy is possible, and it fully develops only under socialism. These words, contained in the report of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee at the 15th session of the party Central Committee, are some of the many confirmations of the clarity and consequentiality of the party's concept in this issue.

The real content of the concept of socialist democracy includes, for example, the rights of the millions of members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement to actively participate in the formulation, fulfillment and control of the economic plan and social programs in plants and enterprises; of millions of members of the young generation to assert, through their organization, an influence on their workplaces; and of cooperative farmers to formulate their positions in their organizations, and have a say regarding the solution of problems which affect them most.

Similarly, all other social groups in our society also have their organizations to take care of their needs and interests. The National Front, associating social and special interest organizations and noncommunist political parties, provides all the prerequisites for a broad participation of the working people in the political, state economic and cultural life, and in directing the entire society's development. The National Front system permeates all spheres of state and social life. It is a living organism, asserting itself every day, overcoming with practical activity, as well as theoretically, the bourgeois party-political system.

The development of socialist democracy is occuring on all levels of management of our society. The opportunity for a full self-realization in building a new lift is provided for communists, members of other political parties and people without party affiliation, and for members of various social and special interest organizations. Everyone has the opportunity to help with common work according to his needs and personal interests. This is so "at the bottom" as well as on higher levels of management, including the central level.

Should one speak about the difference between communists and the rest of the citizens of our state, then only in the sense that to communists applies a stricter yardstick as regards fulfilling work and civic duties. This principle, corresponding to the leading role of the Communist Party in society, is a permanent requirement.

The joint session of the Central Committees of the CSSR, CSR and SSR National Front, which on Friday discussed the preparation of general elections of representative bodies, reaffirmed the absolute unity of the National Front on all issues concerning the life of our society. At the session, representatives of various organizations reaffirmed their unreserved support for the policy of the Communist Party and socialist state. Concluding this joint session, Comrade Gustav Husak highly valued that fact, and at the same time appealed that the policy of the CPCZ, of the National Front and of the socialist state be explained to people through systematic political-educational work. "Our objective is to incessantly strengthen the moral-political unity of the people, of the two nations and all nationalities of our state, which is a firm pillar and the foundation for our further successful course," Comrade Husak said.

These words fully apply to communists, too. Precisely the communists--with their personal example and persuasion--can greatly contribute to winning an ever greater number of their fellow-citizens over to participation in social and political life, to a selfless and enlightened fulfillment of working and civic duties. This is not an easy task. People know that a communist's mission is to be a personal model for others. And they assess his activity from that viewpoint. In his behavior and conduct, they see the representation of the party. Therefore, each communist bears great responsibility for his words and deeds, which should not be at variance with party policy. His unsuitable behavior should not harm the party's authority. Unfortunately, cases like this occur.

The tenor of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's report, submitted at the 15th Central Committee Plenum, was that one must respect the fact that no absolutely perfect person, one without mistakes and various weaknesses, exists. Honesty, industry, selflessness, a sinse of justice and progress, patriotism and internationalism are not qualities with which a person is born. One acquires them through upbringing and positive examples.

It is not our aim to rear ascetics and saints--our aim is to rear comprehensively developing people who know how to work and enjoy life. The ideal is not some supernatural hero, but an industrious and enterprising person devoted to socialism, a convinced patriot and internationalist. Such people are pioneers of socialism and bearers of the revolutionary present.

In the same way, no communist is, or can be, a saint or a supernatural hero. However, the main thing is for him to be constantly aware, in his every act, of the mission of that party of which he is member or candiate member; to honestly strive to contribute toward fulfilling this mission, personally and according to his strength and possibilities. The people will understand and acknowledge such conduct. Every communist should also know how to appreciate the good work accomplished for the society by nonmembers of the party, by members of other political parties. Any feeling of supremacy or claims of greater personal rights are absolutely incompatible with membership in the party.

The 14th and 15th party congresses highly appraised the significance of the entire National Front and all organizations rallied in it. The bases of this appraisal were the specifically proved results of their activities. This is also very tellingly verified for instance, by the large new values created in fulfilling the National Front's election programs in all regions of the republic. According to preliminary data, they represent Kcs34 billion, achieved in the "Z" [city embellishment] campaign during the past 5-year plan in the Czech Socialist Republic alone. The situation is similar in Slovakia. Without the effective cooperation of the other citizens, the communists would never have achieved this on their own, not even by the most devoted work. Such is the truth, which the party is well aware of and from which it also proceeds. This is confirmed by the party's opinion that building the new society is the feat of the masses.

This knowledge is also the basis of the initiative of the 18th session of the party's Central Committee; namely, that the preparation of the 16th Congress should become an all-social affair. The course of the precongress period up to now has proved that this idea has once again fallen on fertile soil. It is perhaps sufficient to cite examples of the statements made by a number of nonmembers of the party and by members of other political parties on various topical matters of further building the society, published on the discussion pages of RUDE PRAVO. Non-members of the party, members of social and hobby organizations and noncommunist parties united in the National Front expressed there--with the self-evident, justified self-confidence of the masters of this country--their opinions, suggestions and remarks, and their resolve to continue to contribute even better toward the upsurge of their socialist fatherland under CPCZ leadership. The more difficult tasks which the party is frankly discussing prior to its congress are also stimulating the bodies and organizations of the National Front to seek more effective methods of procedure. The joint session of the National Front's Central Committees on Friday was proof of this. The creative forces of the entire society are joining for a start into the coming period. The moral-political unity of the people and party is ripening even more, to reach a new and higher level.

JAKES RECEIVES SOCIALIST WORK BRIGADE DELEGATION

LD042242 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Today Milos Jakes, Presidium candidate member and CPCZ Central Committee secretary, received in Prague a delegation from a production-economic unit of a machine-tractor station and a repair center for agricultural machinery, led by its general director Jozef (Gon). The delegation handed over to Comrade Jakes a list of socialist pledges given by 600 collectives of socialist work brigades and complex rationalization brigades in honor of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 60th anniversary of its foundation. By extending the periods between service of their agricultural machinery, they will save, according to the pledges, over 30,000 tons of steel and over 250 million crowns in spare parts.

SEJM POSTPONED DUE TO JARUZELSKI 'INDISPOSITION'

LD041018 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Text] The Presidium of the Sejm reports that the Sejm meeting scheduled for next Monday has been postponed till Friday, 10 April. The meeting will start at 1000. The postponement of the meeting is connected with a temporary indisposition of Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski.

PRAVDA VIEWS 'SERIOUS' THREAT TO POLISH SOCIALISM

LD050952 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Text] An article by Vsevolod Ovchinnikov has appeared in Moscow PRAVDA in which the author states that the serious threat to the foundations of the socialist system in Poland has still not passed. Reactionary elements which have penetrated various circles of Solidarity trade union have brought the country to the brink of a general strike, which could have disastrous consequences. PRAVDA also stresses that the incessant attempts by imperialist circles to interfere in the affairs of a sovereign socialist state are drawing attention to themselves.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI EXAMINES ANTISOCIALIST FORCES

LD031716 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 3 Apr 81

["The Curtains of Antisocialist Activity"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Apr (PAP)--There are reasons why the problem of political enemies of the regime in Poland was raised so often during the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. It is explained by the fact that ever more intensive activity of counterrevolutionary elements is a factor in the growing pressure on various sectors of Solidarity, in the activization of extremist forces existing within that organization and of activities which go counter to the trade union's charter and are aimed at undermining the structure of the socialist state, writes J. Sokol in ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in a long article describing the forces whose activities are aimed against the organs of power and socialism in Poland.

The symbiosis between subversive elements within the country and the external anticommunist and anti-Polish front has its history and its present, J. Sokol continues. It is an active element in implementing the imperialist strategy of eroding socialism. The chief part of this strategy is activization of internal hostile elements, supplying them with material foundations for their activities and strategic, constant manipulation of them. But this is only one side of the coin.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON KANIA MEETING AT RAWAR PLANT

LD031244 Warsaw PAP in English 0816 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Apr (PAP)--Wide ranks of the Warsaw Polish United Workers' Party activists met with PUWP CC First Secretary Stanislaw Kania at the radio assembly plant Rawar in the capital today.

In an open and polemical discussion that at moments broke into sharp disputes, the Warsaw party active evaluated the course of the 9th PUWP CC plenary meeting as well as presented the ideological and moral condition of their base organizations, and proposed the ensuing chief lines of the programmatic work before the extraordinary PUWP congress.

As the groundwork for the programme the Warsaw activists considered the stand of the worker party bases, both as regard the assessment of the causes underlying the crisis as well as the mechanism and guarantees which should prevent a recurrence of the errors.

It is necessary, they stated, to thoroughly reverse from such a style of party work which violates the indispensable bond between the working class and the party, and between the party and the entire nation.

The discussants pointed out, among other things, that to improve the nation's economic situation Poland needs not 90 but 900 days of social peace. There are necessary social solutions which would satisfy the justified and right aspirations of the Polish people while sumultaneously matching the state's potential. Approving with satisfaction the fixed date of the 9th PUWP Congress, participants in the debate stressed heavily that the supreme party forum must create effective safeguards against recurring distortions.

A considerable part of the debaters polemized against an excessive use of the terms "counterrevolution" and "antisocialism," arguing that one should distinguish between gold and dirt. The people, the working class, did not come out with counterrevolution but fought with [word indistinct] to restore the colours of the most noble idea--the idea of socialism. The question of activity of antisocialist forces requires further clarification. The time is ripe for specifying these groups by condemning specific examples of their destructive activity.

Representatives of factory party organizations also talked about the need for dialogue and discussion with Solidarity's worker base as well as for giving a decisive rebuff to those individuals who want to carry on political activity behind the smokescreen of trade union work.

Taking the floor the first secretary of the PUWP CC made the following points:

An important feature of the changes that evolved in the party over the recent months is the rise in sincerity, openness in discussions. Without this feature the party and its units cannot function well. It tests the values which everyone may add to the [words indistinct]. We should by all means foster this feature.

The bitterness over the fact that this deep crisis we are now living through has been born in the conditions of socialism is not diminishing. However it is not the party that has generated the crisis. It was born--as I have pointed out many a time-- in the aftermath of an erroneous work practice in the central bodies of administration.

There is a proposal, constantly repeated in party and not only party discussions, to consistently bring to account all those responsible for leading the nation's economy to such a critical state. We have done quite a lot in this sphere. Political measures were taken against people responsible for that. Wherever we are dealing with political errors we shall see to it that political measures be applied, similarly as it is done in every civilized country. Wherever law is abused we shall apply measures in compliance with the law. Law must be equal to everyone. And we shall observe that with full consistency. Appropriate organs must be activated to accelerate the pace of procedures without bringing harm to objective opinion.

The PUWP CC first secretary continued:

Preparing for the [words indistinct] we shall discuss the guarantees preventing Poland from a recurrence of economic crises, starting with the principles of democratic party work. A key task is the shaping of harmonious relations with the trade unions. We are for the rebirth, in the full sense of the word, of the trade union movement. We foster the activity of the branch trade unions.

Our attitude towards Solidarity also is unquestionable. It sprang up from an authentic workers' protest but grew consolidated in the result of the agreement which was achieved due to the line of action represented by the Central Committee. We voice our readiness for constructive cooperation with Solidarity because its development is espoused by numerous social forces, considerable part of the working class. Organizers of Solidarity have many a time affirmed the socialist character of this union. And this formula is binding to every party member in Solidarity.

However, it would be an unforgivable mistake if we did not discern those forces in Solidarity which attempt to direct it to the road of political activity, and even to replace the PUWP in deciding about the most vital issues of the country.

At the nearest plenary meeting of the PUWP CC we shall present the programme of our party in the preparations for the 9th congress. We shall present the assumptions of the programme of development of socialist democracy, consolidation of the leading role of the party and stabilization of the socio-political situation in our country.

We shall consult our intentions with a wide party milieu, first and foremost, with PUWP worker base organizations in big industry.

Closing his speech, Stanislaw Kania stated that he understands his role of PUWP CC first secretary, first and foremost, as a task designed to inspire and control the party leading team. I am entitled to the right to initiative, but not to decide about big matters. The big issues should be decided by the entire party, and the greatest say belongs to the lowest ranks.

Kania Speech

LD040514 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 3 Apr 81

["Extensive excerpts" of speech by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at a meeting of the Warsaw PZPR Committee with Warsaw party activists and workers on 2 April at the Rawar radio factory in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] We are meeting after the ninth Central Committee plenum and after the agreement [between the government and Solidarity] and the decision to call off the strike, which was a great threat to Poland, a threat not only of economic dimensions.

We feared the strike very much, not only because it would have harmed the authority and not only because it would have brought, as always, great economic harm--and the country cannot afford to waste even 1 hour of work--but also because the strike, like all mass social phenomena born of conflict, could have engendered various kinds of unforeseen, uncontrollable events which, owing to the accumulation of tensions, to the mass character of the phenomenon, might have led to unexpected, explosive consequences.

This is what we had in mind during these great strike conflicts of July and August last year, conflicts which were born as a workers protest against mistakes, against results of various wrong decisions, but which could have brought about incalculatable results.

Hence we have been dealing with the accumulation of the various tensions nurtured during the strikes. We have tried everything to solve these conflicts by political means, by negotiations. That is what did happen. It is a good thing that this last strike, which no one needed, was called off.

I am very pleased to participate in this meeting. The comrades who spoke here dealt with various questions in a bold, critical or, as it is said, creative manner. This was a very party-like discussion.

An important characteristic of the transformations that have taken place in the party in recent months is, in fact, the growth of sincerity, of openness in discussion. Without this characteristic neither the party nor any of its echelons can function well.

The bitterness over the fact that these problems, this crisis, is being born in socialist conditions--in conditions in which the leading role is being held by our party, although it has not caused this crisis--has not abated. It has arisen, as I have often emphasized since being appointed party secretary, because of faulty practices in the central links of management and not among the 3 million people in our party. This does not alter the fact that the consequences affect all followers of socialism, not only the people in our party.

Nine months have passed since strike conflicts on a mass scale began in Poland. We stopped them in August. The situation continues to be difficult. It would be incorrect to link the present difficulties only with past errors. To a considerable extent they are a result of confusion in the national economy. In many branches further confusion is taking place as a result of strikes and of various actions. We have to take this into consideration and overcome it.

You have asked various questions and put various proposals during the discussion. I have received a whole list of proposals, comments and critical remarks. You will receive answers to each of them, not from this rostrum--it would not be possible--but in other ways. Perhaps it will be possible to visit an organization which made the largest number of proposals and personally give answers.

The most fundamental one is the question as to why such an acute crisis has occurred in Poland. It has been concluded that there is a need to bring to account all those guilty of bringing the national economy to the state which has been described here. In this respect we have done a lot. Political conclusions have been drawn concerning responsible people and I will repeat a formula about which I spoke at the Seventh Central Committee Plenum: Wherever we have to deal with errors in policy, we will see to it that consequences of a poitical nature are brought about, as is done in every civilized country. In all cases in which the law has been infringed upon, the followup actions taken must be in accordance with the law. As you have stressed, the law must be the same for everyone. We will consistently adhere to this.

Much has been done. We will have to make the appropriate bodies sensitive so that the tempo of work, without damaging the objectivity of assessment, can be accelerated. This refers to party control commissions, to Supreme Chamber of Control (?bodies) and also to bodies of the Prosecutor's Office in some very specific cases. I accept this demand.

There has been talk here about guarantees which will protect us against possible crises, against the threat of future crises. We will be discussing those guarantees when we are preparing for the congress. We will be creating institutional safeguards for the democratic functioning of our party so that the party fully reflects the thoughts and the feelings of, above all, its mainstay, its base which it serves and from which it has grown, in other words, the working class. Much will have to be done to modernize our economy. The economic reform is to serve this. It will be necessary to do a great deal to modernize our entire state and administration. Very sharp statements have been made here. I fully agree with them. What is important is that one should draw the appropriate conclusions at the appropriate time. I think that before the end of this month the government will be presenting appropriate proposals on this issue.

But a matter which is of the greatest importance to us all, which is of the most fundamental importance to us--a matter on which the thoughts and efforts of all party people must concentrate--is the question of how we can get out of the present crisis. We still have a long way to go toward a solution. There are a lot of elements pointing to the fact that the crisis is being aggravated because, you see, the crisis is very widespread. It affects the economy. Everyone can feel it, even if only in the marketplace. But, after all, not everything can be seen in the marketplace. Our industry and economy are not only working to supply the market.

Our economy is deeply segmented. We are trying to balance individual sections and spheres of our economy and industry, as I have stressed today, above all, by using the method of equalizing downwards--the method of suppressing the rate of those sections which have grown quickly to the level of those lagging behind. There is no other way out because we do not have the resources. But, after all, this is not a long-term solution. This not only threatens stagnation but means a third year of downward movement in our economy's level of development, a drop in national income for a third year, and involves a search, under such conditions, for resources to improve living conditions, or to put it another way perhaps, to protect the level of living conditions that has been achieved.

There are no realistic possibilities of being able to declare an improvement in these conditions during the next year or two. The answer lies in the limitation of investments and in shifting funds to consumption. This can be done for a year or two; this is the extent of such an intervention, such an operation. But this policy must not be pursued longer because it would threaten a greater breakdown in a few years' time or in some dozen or more years.

As you know, we have considerable payment obligations which derive from the large credits necessary for the development of our economy, for the creation of employment for everybody who has reached work age. The sums involved are unprecedented in the history of People's Poland. We have in our country a very faulty system of prices. One can say it is an absurd system. You yourselves know, for instance, that the prices of milk at the delivery stage are double the prices actually charged to the public, taking into account milk with the same fat content.

The same can be said about cereal produce. A whole list of similar items could be cited. The conclusion is obvious. But our experience confirms that what seems obvious or, in fact, is obvious from the economic point of view is unacceptable to the public. This must be taken into account. Therefore, we must patiently bring realities to the public's notice. We must do everything in our power to balance our national economy, all its systems and relations, because this will be the point of departure for a rational and, in perspective, speedier development of our entire national economy.

This formula still remains in force today for every party member. Solidarity has gained considerable popularity by resolving many issues which are in the interest of workers but we cannot ignore the fact that behind Solidarity, among its advisers and some leaders, there appear outlooks very distant from socialism. One can say this even more strongly. They do not hide it. It is not our invention when we use strong words. Can we not see it? No, we must, whether it annoys anyone or not. I am fully aware of it. But as it annoys us, do we have to be silent? One of the main prerequisites for overcoming the crisis is the creation of conditions for truly harmonious, cordial and friendly cooperation among state bodies, the entire party, the entire trade union movement and Solidarity.

The basic precondition is one which can be reduced to the demand: Do everything in order to prevent any link of Solidarity being used for actions aimed against the socialist state, its systemic principles, its legal order and its alliances which ensure the independence and national security of socialist Poland.

In this matter we have been very patient. We should be stubborn. Here we are calling for action, not for us, not for the party, not for the comfort of people's rule, but on behalf of the workers' interest. No one needs conflicts. It is high time that these advisers who are in error, those who want to use Solidarity as a tool for struggle and to make capital out of it, those so-called people from outside, understand the consequences to which their actions are leading. They should understand that we are able to realistically assess their activities and that in this matter also there must be limits to tolerance. It cannot be otherwise.

A component part of those actions which lead to a way out of the crisis is our party, its resilience, its ability to perform the leading role. What was said here is true. Characteristic of the past months has been a great increase in party fervor and profound ideological support in the greatest difficulties.

It is true, I accept the criticism addressed to us asking that the Central Committee function more energetically. I shall see to this so that it makes for more efficiency throughout our entire party and all its organizations.

There can be no doubt on one count. We have to strengthen our party by consolidating those ideological principles out of which it was born as a revolutionary workers party, the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Seeking the shape of our program, which will favor successful socialist construction, involves taking into consideration the national traits of our people. We will do this. But another component part of the strength of our party is its organizational cohesion demonstrated by the fact that the party can prove itself as the leading force in the state and of the people when it functions as a system of organization [as heard], when deep democracy functions in it in forming and shaping the authority, in regulating relations for everyday party life, and also when discipline functions in it, when the higher echelons are able to lead the lower echelons.

This is an unshakable principle. Without it we cannot be a party. As I stressed at the plenum, nowhere in the world has a party without Leninist operating principles, without cohesion and discipline, built socialism. But slackening or breaking bonds, or even, as some propose, completely tearing them off, would preclude the party from functioning, and it would make things easy for people who wish Poland and its people ill. Hence, recognizing this principle as inviolable, we should firmly counteract everything aimed at undermining it. We should shape power in such way, select people for power, so that they will enjoy the great moral authority of our party. This will be done in the forthcoming elections in party organizations and during the upcoming ninth congress of our party.

At the next Central Committee plenum we will present an action program of our party in preparation for the congress. We shall present the program provisions for the development of socialist democracy, for strengthening the leading role of the party and stabilizing the socioeconomic situation in the country.

Parallel to this we would like, as was demanded here in the discussion, to present at a Central Committee session what we must do by July of this year and what problems have to be solved on various fronts of activity, both regarding what is connected with strengthening the party and its leading role in relation to social organizations--and we should promote the activities of all organizations--and what is connected with its tasks in the development of socialist democracy and in the strengthening of the positions of people's councils, trade unions, workers' self-government, cooperative self-government, peasants' self-government, and finally agricultural circles, industrial trade unions, rural women's circles and the rural cooperative movement, We wish to promote this.

Finally, it is necessary to present our, that is, the party's plans for action--above all those connected with the mobilization of social forces, and not only the forces of the state administration--on how to get out of the economic crisis. Or to be more precise, in connection with the 3-month period it is necessary to present our plans on how to lessen the consequences of the crisis which after all are being felt in a very painful manner. So we shall be putting forward the whole complex of undertakings which the comrades have been talking about here. Therefore, this will be a kind of small program, but it seems that this will be a more specific and more purpose-made [zaadrezowany] program which will no longer be simply a slogan-based and directional program, but a program which can be the foundation for mobilizing all the forces of our party from the Central Committee to the factory, parish or rural committee. It is no easy matter to construct such a program. We shall be consulting with comrades who can offer us advice regarding our plans, above all with comrades from selected big factories, party organizations of big factories and voivodship party committees. This, it seems, is very, very necessary.

Many critical remarks have been made here addressed to the Central Committee. I regard these remarks as a continuation of the meeting of the Central Committee. The Central Committee should be, as you have emphasized here, more flexible, more closely linked with the party organization. It should react to their demands and be guided by the moods arising in them. There has been a demand for better information, for better propaganda on our part. We are aware of the fact that there is a great deal that should be done on this score. Above all, our propaganda is very often late. Our propaganda very often does not provide an adequate reaction to the moods which arise in various centers. The condition of its effectiveness is to be in touch with such moods, produce polemics with such moods in mind or affirm those moods which may deserve being upheld and spread. We shall see to it.

You have also stressed here, comrades, the issue of the resolution concerning the Politburo. Here, in the written questions, there are also such demands. Indeed, a lot of critical remarks were made during the Central Committee session which were aimed at the Politburo. We all know of this because the press wrote about it. In some of the resolutions of party organizations, reservations were expressed towards specific comrades to the effect that they are not satisfactorily coping with their sectors of work. There has also appeared the accusation, which was not spelled out more specifically by anyone at the plenum, but which--as is well known--is prevalent in party organizations and which is spread very actively by various nonparty forces, alleging that the Politburo is the arena of a tug of war in the form of factional struggles.

What is this Politburo? What is it? It is a team consisting of 10 people. Of the 14 members of the old Politburo, 4 are in the present Politburo. There are five candidate members and then there are secretaries of the Central Committee. This is the team. I am the leader of this collective and I understand that at every level it is necessary to take moods into account, that it is necessary to take into consideration those remarks, demands and resolutions which are made. But--and what do you think comrades--does taking seriously into account various voices mean that one agrees with every one of them? I cannot imagine that party spirit can be interpreted in this way.

Everyone has the right to voice his own views. In my opinion this right should also be recognized in the case of the party secretary, which I am. The party secretary should not be--and this should be written down in the statute--an institution, an authority which decides great issues. His task is different, his duties are different. They boil down, above all, to organizing the functioning of the leading team, checking the implementation of decisions, exercising the right of initiative--but not the right to make big decisions, important decisions. Within the framework of this right to a voice, I stated during the plenary session of the Central Committee [words indistinct] that there are a good many arguments in the Politburo. If I were to express my own view, there are still not enough of these arguments. There should be more clashes and arguments. This is necessary for the health of the party, but none of the views violates what is defined by the term party spirit or the proper attitude towards socialist renewal, the policy which we proclaimed at the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee. Should we subordinate ourselves to whatever somebody writes or undertakes? I do not think so. One can criticize, and there are reasons to criticize the Politburo for the work it has done. If it comes to being criticized for the effort involved, I would be prepared to put up a stiff defense. [passage indistinct].

There are a considerable number of levels of public dissatisfaction. They have not arisen today; they drive from the strike conflicts, from the disclosure of various mistakes, from various iniquities which existed and still exist in our life. All this affects results. But there is no other way out. Leadership has to be assessed according to the quality of the results and according to the state of our country. In this sense we accept the criticisms addressed to us; this is not a criticism of our effort but of the fact that the results have fallen short of the expectations. We will draw conclusions from these criticisms. The Central Committee has recognized, virtually unanimously, that no changes should be made in the membership of the Politburo in view of the situation that exists. The vote was practically unanimous. Only one of the comrades either abstained from voting or voted against. This was the position taken by everybody; and I do not think that anyone can say that those voting were laboring under any form of anxiety. You yourselves do not believe this is true, at least regarding the comrades who come from industrial enterprises, the worker members of the Central Committee, who, after all, constitute a sizable group in the composition of the central bodies of the party.

Then there is the issue of the party, of the character of our party. There is a demand for higher standards, a purge in the party. On the other hand there have been demands asking that everything be done in order to ensure that the bitterness among some of our comrades does not dictate such steps as the surrender of the party membership card. It seems that both the former and the latter demands are right. The paramount issue, the one that decides the strength of the party, is, after all, quality--the quality of the party ranks.

This does not mean that we should not be concerned about expansion. There are some centers, some areas, some industrial enterprises in which we, as a party, are very inadequately represented--even numerically we are inadequately represented. I can not agree with those who express some longing for a kind of "guards" character of the party based on cadres--the party interpreted as a very narrow group, and then also the practice of harking back to the old time. I also come from the PPR [Polish Workers Party], the ZWM [Union of Young Fighters] stock of the party. We too dreamed of our party having a large membership. The PPR united with the PPS [Polish Socialist Party] while its own membership reached nearly a million, which was a considerable amount in those days, in 1948. In 1945 we also were very keen that our membership should be greater and yet we were none the weaker for it. The membership does not decide everything; it is not true that in Poland there may be no more than 3.2 million people who are dedicated to the cause of socialism. No, this would be denying the truth. There are many more people of this kind. The reason lies elswhere. The party will not lose if it frees itself of the casual elements that have joined it.

For instance, the party will free itself of people who find party membership a burden. They are fine people and must not be treated as aliens, but they joined the party because there had been created a climate in which for the sake of peace it was better to be in the party. Let us give these people an opportunity, if party membership is a burden to them, to work actively in another organization. Let us not treat them as adversaries.

However, there are also those who, under the impact of the difficulties which have arisen, have proved to have very little in common with the principles of the party, or even nothing at all. Does this concern a large group of people? No, it does not. It is not a question of hundreds of thousands. Yet this is an even better reason for reacting to this situation and getting rid of people like this. We should show concern for and exercise persuasion on all those elements who are of high quality in order to stop them from leaving the party, all those of the highest standards--the core of workers in our party. I favor this kind of approach and I do not think that we should [words indistinct] against some of the comrades who spoke here earlier, although such interpretations could be suggested.

Members of the party should be noticeable because of certain characteristics making them different from others. What is it that we should demand, above all from our party men, the members of our party? We often have to demand dedication. After all, the aim of our party life and of our party action is the transformation, continuous transformation, of our nation, of the peole around us. This is the guideline of our party membership. The party organization should give every party member strength so that together, in a party team, in the complete system of party links with the party bodies at various levels, we can move the earth from its foundations, to use the words of the song which we sing at festive meetings. This amounts to the leitmotif and the fundamental sense of all party activity--constantly to transform life so that this life is better and more just and so that there is moral purity everywhere, among party people and throughout all of our surroundings. Let us see to this.

A good party organization, during the report-back and election campaign, must constantly ask itself: What should be changed? What should be changed, above all, with our own resources? Some comrades mentioned and emphasized here, together with expressions of bitterness and with criticisms addressed to the Central Committee Politburo, their optimism. I also think they are right--those who hold dear and believe in what they say--when they maintain that we have no other way out but to tackle our problems. Nobody will pay for our keep. Even if we blame and condemn all, nobody will pay for our keep. Life is hard. Even if we elect as good a Central Committee as possible, much better than the present one, and also a much better Politburo, nobody can replace our party in its functions if the way out that we are seeking is to mean a way out towards the direction of an undisturbed development of socialism, so that our country sees a better life and, what is equally important, a just life. This, after all, is the sense of the activities of our party. What we need, comrades, is the great conviction that only we and we alone, can master this crisis of ours, these troubles of ours. We have to solve this ourselves.

There must be less emotion and more conviction and also cooly thought-out activities in order to restore the strength of the party at enterprises and in order to paralyze our opponents effectively. Poland cannot be a weak link in the socialist community. Our national reasons for existence also back this up. I think that this will happen. I think like you who have been speaking from this rostrum. I thank you. [applause]

MORE ON NINTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM SPEECHES

General Baryla Address

AU031532 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Mar 81 p 5

[Report on speech by Gen Div Jozef Baryla, Central Committee member and vice minister of national defense, at the 29 March Ninth PZPR Plenum]

[Text] The situation in our country is developing dangerously and much has already been said on this subject. Our party organizations and the entire military community fully share that view. Fulfilling their defense duties vis-a-vis their fatherland and mounting guard over its security, the soldiers of the Polish People's Armed Forces watch with profound concern, but most vigilantly, the course of events and show maximum patience and goodwill. Today it is becoming increasingly clear who wants to end the social truce and destroy the prospects for peace, for which Premier Jaruzelski appealed in the Sejm. It is clear who seeks to intensify anarchy and chaos, to fan uncertainty and discontent, to destroy the economy with strikes and to hasten national catastrophe in our state. It is clear who wants to destroy, and why, at any price the seriously weakened authority of our state in the world, to intensify our allies' and partners' doubts in our credibility and, in consequence, to destabilize the political situation in Europe.

When our government, led by the new premier, began its work, everyone was full of hope that our country's moving to the lowest point of the crisis would be checked and a road to stability opened. The new premier's program and the package of 10 most urgent tasks, which the government is so intensively implementing, as well as the appeal for 3 months of peaceful and creative work have met with society's general support. A number of functionaries and a large group of Solidarity members also support the program. We have hoped that, in keeping with the line of the sixth, seventh and eighth plenums, Solidarity would constructively commit itself to our country's socioeconomic life. Today it is simply hard to understand Solidarity's position on strikes and on the tense atmosphere, which is damaging to our state's stability.

In many Solidarity organizations realistic people have been forced to take a defensive posture, and extremist, adventurist and openly antisocialist forces led by KOR have gained the upper hand. It is they who flood the country with leaflets, placards and newssheets with anticommunist and antistate material. It is they who issued a clear and unprecedented ultimatum before the government commission could complete its work. It is they who organized the warning strike, which has further sapped the strength of our weakened economy, and who are insisting on a general strike.

The dragging and intensifying domestic crisis is responsible for the fact that, as an important element of the Warsaw Pact, Poland is becoming the hotbed of a potential conflict in Europe. Not only our neighbors and allies, but also all the forces interested in detente are watching that process. No one can comprehend why the Poles are destroying their state's high position in the world, gained with such great effort, and why they are wasting their economic achievements and political and moral prestige won in the past 36 years. Does that not offend our national dignity? Every honest citizen is having such sad thoughts today.

We must center our attention on efforts to strengthen our state. This means: To better select cadres, to create conditions for reliable work and conscientious implementation of civic duties, to strengthen our alliances, especially with the Soviet Union, to defend material and spiritual assets and to resolutely oppose the establishment of dyarchy, for which there must be no place in our country.

We are witnessing an unprecedented attempt to change the law into a tool of lawlessness directed against state power. This is how we should interpret the incidents during the most recent strike: throwing managers out of their offices, taking over and freely using the means of communications, suspending instruction in schools--even in basic schools--and distributing provocative instructions among Solidarity echelons to be followed in case of a general strike, a state of emergency and so on. I must tell you frankly, comrades, that our military cadre, which is used to good order and legality, has been very critical of those facts and full of indignation. We must be resolute in putting an end to that process of lawlessness. After all, we have all the means to do that. We have the mandate and the strength to see that the law is fully obeyed. We have a society that wants peace and law and order. Such action will certainly be understood and supported by all patriotic and responsible forces of the people.

The Polish People's Armed Forces have been decidedly for the country's socialist renewal from the very beginning, and for constant efforts to strengthen socialist democracy. I wish to inform the Central Committee that our Armed Forces, commanded by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, are politically united and ideologically mature. They are well trained and disciplined. We in the Armed Forces have used the period that has passed since the Eighth Central Committee Plenum in an efficient manner to further strengthen the Armed Forces' party and youth organizations and all those echelons responsible for service and public activities that determine the high combat readiness of our Armed Forces. The interallied Soyuz-81 exercises, currently underway, confirm that once again. By their skills and dignified patriotic and internationalist attitude, our soldiers prove that they are always ready to defend socialism in the same way as they are ready to defend Poland's independence, as stated by Comrade Stanislaw Kania at one of the plenums.

Milewski Hits TU Elements

AU032000 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Mar 81 p 6

[Report on speech by Miroslaw Milewski, Central Committee member and minister of internal affairs, at the 29 March Ninth PZPR Plenum in Warsaw]

[Text] The state of social excitement is swelling on an unprecedented scale. The deterioration of social discipline is alarming and this encourages criminal elements. Criminality is increasing, and brutality and ruthlessness are the hallmarks of criminals in action. The threat to the state on account of espionage and subversion has increased. Mor and more citizens continue to tell us about attempts to win them over for cooperation with foreign intelligence services when they are abroad. Intelligence employees of the foreign missions of the main capitalist countries are doing that in our country.

Foreigners are infiltrating the premises of our economy because they are given free admission, whereas militia functionaries are hindered in their access. Foreigners continue to inspire the oppositional elements and give them material and technical support.

A lack of respect for the law is quite widespread. An atmosphere of mutual incriminations, which are skillfully fueled, and of the continued tendency to square accounts shows no sign of abating. That is accompanied by a general lack of concern for stabilization, calm and productive work, which, as we all know, is the fundamental condition for overcoming our difficulties.

Public opinion has been shocked by the propaganda in connection with the Bydgoszcz events. We know the contents of the government commission's report in that regard. The prosecutor's office is making intensive inquiries, and a team of responsible officials from my ministry is engaged in investigative proceedings. I would like to assure the Central Committee that we have taken strong action to clarify all the circumstances attending upon the injuries inflicted on the three persons in question. The clarification of those circumstances and the punishment of the guilty is in the interest of my ministry and of all its functionaries.

We know that the work of the militia and security service can produce good results only if they have complete ties with society and enjoy its complete trust and support.

It is no secret that we require every employee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to obey the law. Every report that the law has been violated is carefully examined and when the findings are complete, the guilty are subjected to disciplinary or penal sanctions. That will always be so.

To illustrate the above: Of the complaints that were received by my ministry in 1980 in connection with the militia's improper behavior, including the use of clubs, 9 percent were confirmed. Although the number of such incidents continues to decrease, we have intensified educational work and extensive instruction in the principles of responsibility for improper conduct of that kind. In all the cases of confirmed improper conduct, the guilty were punished and a number of cases were handed over to the prosecutor's office.

However, it should be stressed that for some months now our country has been flooded by publications seeking to instigate people against the functionaries of the party and the state administration, and recently against the militia and security service functionaries. Unverified reports that militia functionaries, who find it increasingly difficult to fulfill their duties, violate the law are circulating throughout the country. Militia functionaries are publicly offended and prevented from discharging their duties, with the result that those who violate the law go berserk and the effectiveness of militia actions becomes weaker.

Many incidents listed in published information media have been clarified and the charges have proven to be baseless. The remaining incidents are being investigated by my ministry or the prosecutor's office. Unfortunately, effort and time are necessary in order to clarify incidents, even if accusations seem evidently false. That is so because, in contrast to those who accuse, we want to know the truth and possess the proof that discipline has been violated or that accusations are false. We will be exacting in the case of functionaries who violate the law and in the case of persons who slander our employees. The law must be equally obeyed by everyone.

Well, we know the program of the opponents of socialism with regard to dismantling the structures of the socialist state in Poland. Among other things, that program envisaged an attack against my ministry as an important element of the system of the state. The program provided for propaganda activities to present the ministry as a supposedly third force that is independent of the party and the government and that follows its own policy. The program provided for leveling charges that our functionaries violate the rule of law, for pitting my ministry against the Ministry of National Defense, and for presenting my ministry as a bulwark of conservatism, opposed to the process of socialist renewal. The people behind the program expected that Polish society, being in an emotional state, is now most susceptible to rumor and that every criticism would find many sympathizers. The present actions confirm the implementation of that plan as well.

It is no secret--these things were said here from this rostrum today--that political gamblers, known enemies of socialism, have joined some Solidarity organizations. People known for their extremist attitudes, for their hunger for power and for their irresponsible conduct have in part infiltrated Solidarity authorities. Such a state of affairs is responsible for the fact that the trade union is transforming itself into a political force, which is damaging to the socialist states through its activities, even though many genuine, honest people are against such a transformation.

We know that subversive leaflets are being distributed throughout the country appealing to functionaries to disobey their superiors. In all voivodships we register cases of attacks on militia and security service functionaries. We should have no illusions that this is yet another stage of the implementation of the plan for dismantling the structures of the socialist state--a stage in taking over power.

The impudence of the persons who violate the law is increasing. People refuse to obey summons. Is it possible that in a state ruled by the law [unauthorized] persons can issue instructions on taking over state premises and make decisions on distribution of food and fuels? Can we tolerate the occupation of armament industry plants by persons who have no right to do so? In his statement to the Sejm, Premier Jaruzelski said that there can be no room for two governments in a single state.

There is no room for that in Poland either. We were and are for the process of socialist renewal, but this renewal has nothing in common with unpunished activities by anarchical elements and even less with counterrevolution.

In the past 8 months, the party and government have given many proofs that they want to consistently resolve the crisis through dialogue and accord. The enemies of our fatherland interpret such a conduct as weakness of power. It is high time to realize most clearly that the state of intensifying destabilization in Poland threatens the existence of the socialist state.

The time has come to put an end to spreading lawlessness and disdain for the law. We must effectively see that everyone obeys the law. We know the role of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in restoring calm in the country and in protecting domestic order and citizens' security.

Olszowski Speech

AU061030 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Mar 81 p 6

[Speech by Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, at the 29 March PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw]

[Text] I share the evaluations set forth in the Politburo report delivered by Comrade Kazimierz Barcikowski at the present Central Committee plenum. I find this evaluation of the situation in our country, characteristic of a great threat aroused by the forces bent on destabilizing the socialist system, to be correct.

Poland has become a country with a weakened state power whose organs are subject to a continuous dismantling. Poland has become a country in a catastrophic economic situation. And finally Poland has become a weak link in our socialist community.

Can we tolerate that state? Certainly not. Our party, exclusively, is the only one that is able to bring the state out of that situation. Within the framework of socialist statehood, there is no other social force capable of undertaking that task. That can only be attained by our party consistently pursuing the line of socialist renewal. I emphasize that line, because another line is also being advertized in our country. That is the line advocated by opponents to socialism. Characteristic of it is the endeavor by a pact of Solidarity leading aktivs to take over state power in Poland and to represent it. Whoever does not see that does not see the fundamental political process.

That process has been manifested in removing enterprise directors, in taking over power during the strikes, in taking over management of municipal services, and in taking over by force the central broadcasting center of Polish television. With that orientation of the opponents to socialism, the Friday strike was nothing else than a great exercise and a dress rehearsal. Solidarity--not in its broad masses, but in leading teams--has departed from the statutary princples adopted at the time of its registration. They are now standing on the grounds of creating a political party, and from these grounds are preparing for the Tuesday strike--that ominous specter for the state and economy.

Now I would like to proceed to another issue.

In the discussion, and also in some resolutions, an opinion has been formulated alleging the existence in the party leadership of an orientation toward a settlement by force. I would like to say with full conviction, and in accordance with my honest knowledge of the matter, that in the Politburo such an orientation does not exist.

All the accusations to the effect that the Bydgoszcz incident was a provocation have been taken out of the air.

My speech at the television conference following the Bydgoszcz incident has been mentioned here. Then, I interpreted the facts on the basis of the information possessed at that time by the Central Committee. [paragraph continues]

What could I add to what I said then? I only could add that I deplore the fact that three Solidarity figures were beaten up there. I would also like to endores the substance of the Politburo communique of 22 March.

Let me proceed to the third issue, that of party unity and leadership unity. I would like to entirely endorse what has been said in the report. Our leadership has always been working harmoniously and unanimously, and it has been working out all decisions collectively. I would like to pay a tribute of deep respect to the chairman of our leading collective, Comrade Stanislaw Kania. Comrade Stanislaw Kania has manifested an honest programmatic initiative, an appropriate and wise moderation, as well as a firm and calm evaluation, frequently in extremely dramatic situations. I would also like to emphasize the efficient and firm, and at the same time farsighted stance taken by the government headed by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski. The balance of the government's accomplishments, notwithstanding the brevity of its office, is absolutely positive balance. I do not see any split between the work of the Politburo and the government with regard to basic affairs. We have been adopting all the collective decisions collectively, and we are collectively responsible for them.

In my activity, I have been consistently trying to oppose the hue and cry raised by some Solidarity figures against party cadres. I dedicated to that a television speech and a number of other speeches because I considered and continue to consider that the attacks carried out by some Solidarity figures against party cadres are nothing less than a progressive campaign against communists. Whoever cannot be accused of dishonesty is being charged with conservatism, thick-headedness, with the qualities of "concrete" or whichever may you prefer to call that. On the other hand, I willing admit that in my activity there has been a great deal of inexpertness, that I have possibly been frequently not consistent enough or too liberal with regard to some publications. It is true. I accept that accusation self-critically.

Here I would like to proceed to the question of dishonest information and of alleged press manipulation, which has been raised in some resolutions and other statements. Well, I would like to say that I have been and am guided by the idea that the party press organs should serve party policy. In that spirit, I have actually been trying to influence editorial boards. But it is very certain that the accusations of press manipulation and of dishonest information are being raised always when the press carries critical information or commentary about Solidarity. The accusation of dishonest information has also been raised by Comrade S. Bratkowski in his well-known letter and some other publications. As a member of the Congress Commission, Comrade Bratkowski has embarked on the path of dividing the party and its leadership, the path of factional activity.

From this tribune, I would like to express my respect for the commentators of TRYBUNA LUDU, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, television newscasts and other organs for the defense of and engagement in the pursuit of the line of socialist renewal.

The next question is the preparation of materials for the ninth congress. I move that the present plenum fix the date of the congress. As Secretariat chairman of the Congress Commission, I have been trying to guide the Secretariat's activity in such a way as to draft the programmatic theses in a mature form. They have been presented to 204 large enterprises for consultation. I think that the ideas generalized in them are even now our party's big achievement, an achievement for party aktivs not only at the central, but also at the voivodship and enterprise level.

However, I would like to deal briefly with Poland's place and role in the community of socialist states. In particular, I would like to stress the universal principles of real socialism set forth in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. In my opinion, it would be advisable for our Central Committee plenum to fully endorse our delegation's line and activity at the 26th congress. I emphasize the great importance of that congress for the policy of peace.

I would like to stress that the friendship, alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union have for 36 years guaranteed our state's existence. This is also the case now. In my opinion, the Central Committee should adopt an appropriate decision on the importance of the 26th CPSU Congress decisions.

Finally, I would like to say a few words about myself. I have been working in the Politburo for rather a long time. At the eighth congress I was removed from the Politburo and it would not be serious to remember what motivated the step taken at that time. Then I reorientated my interests and sphere of work. In August 1980 I was summoned by the then first secretary and it was proposed to resume my service in the party apparatus. I accepted that service, sparing no efforts and, in line with my understanding and abilities, I have been trying to contribute my part to the Central Committee's activity. I am a communist and, like any communist, I place myself at the disposal of the Central Committee. I shall serve the cause of socialism at any post.

Grabski on 'Provocateurs'

AU031800 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Mar 81 p 6

[Speech by Tadeusz Grabski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, at the 29 March PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw]

[Text] The serious political situation that is accompanying the proceedings of the ninth plenum, a situation being additionally intensified by the inflow of resolutions and appeals organized in various centers and groups in the country, obligates us, the Central Committee members, to profoundly and closely examine it and to assume a posture to the events and phenomena that have been taking place recently. The times, and primarily the feeling of individual and collective responsibility, call for an evaluation of the causes and a search for methods to settle the problems of the crisis and the new pressing social conflicts. The escalation of tension, going on for several months, has now reached a very dangerous state jeopardizing the country.

In the farily universal public opinion, the cause of the crisis that has arisen recently lies in the divisions that allegedly exist in the party leadership, and in the anonymous provocateurs disturbing the process of renewal. A contribution toward that has been made by Stefan Bratkowski's subversive, antiparty activity. His "open letter," broadly distributed by Solidarity, is spreading confusion and disorganization within wide circles of party members.

This is not the time or place for races and outbidding in demagogy and phrases about the renewal or the importance of an agreement and talks as the only way of exerting power in Poland.

The numerous, although still one-sided, proofs of dialogue and agreement, which we have been giving since August 1980, are sufficiently eloquent to believe in loyalty to the line traced by the fifth plenum, and to believe in our sincere intentions to settle even the most complex problems by political means.

However, I would like to state that I am an adherent of further talks and dialogue, of concessions and compromises, including the penultimate one. Their limit is set: That is socialism and the supreme goals of the system, our alliances and our belonging to the family of socialist states.

But at present the crux of the matter lies not in the party division into adherents of the renewal and thick-headed ones. The line of division and struggle--not within the Politburo at all, but between certain forces--lies somewhere else. The borders and dividing lines have been quite visibly traced by the goals aspired to by various social forces who have been using renewal slogans, but interpreting the renewal in an ambiguous and even contradictory manner.

For that reason, the point is not to assume a personal attitude to the social and political changes that are taking place. The course of sinister events in the country makes it quite obvious that for some the renewal is socialism without deformations and degenerations, without cyclic crises and repeated mistakes--it is real social justice and democracy.

But for the others, the renewal is a constant destabilization in political, social and economic life; the gradual but systematic dismantling of the socialist state, and finally the takeover of power in the not too distant future.

It would be political naivete and blindness not to see such obvious intentions and facts.

Following the eighth Central Committee plenum, the struggle waged by counterrevolutionary forces for power has gathered momentum and clearly intensified. Notwithstanding the empty and hypocritical slogans and lip service paid to the renewal, the constant search for power has been continuing, and dyarchy has now become a fact. A political struggle, the most difficult and bitter in the 36 years of People's Poland, is continuing. Psychological, physical and at times even armed terror is at the same time being intensified with regard to persons manifesting civic restraint and responsibility, particularly with regard to party cadre figures, and leading cadres. Violence, anarchy, chaos and adventurism are being exercised by some Solidarity cells and, in their direct and indirect effects, hit at the foundations of the economic existence of the state.

As a result of the absurd escalation of the strikes, which have nothing to do with the defense of the economic and social rights of the working people, the living standards of the people are deteriorating day in and day out. Chaos and confusion in the minds and attitudes of the people are increasing tensions, disorganizing economic life and infringing upon the vital interests of society. Production is declining dangerously. Shortages in materials and commodities are increasing. Lines for basic articles are growing longer.

The country is at the threshold of bankruptcy and insolvency, and is facing famine and unemployment. And all that is taking place within the framework of the renewal, after the subsequent acts of good will shown by our party and authorities toward an agreement and dialogue, as a result of many subsequent--and not always justified--compromises. But the other side lacked even the elementary drop of good will to abstain for the duration of the talks--and that is a universally accepted custom--from demonstrating strength and pressure in the shape of the warning strike held last Friday.

Thus, comrades, the fundamental questions arise: Is what we are daily witness to and what we expect in the near future to be that renewal? Should this be that renewed socialism? How can we, under such conditions, lead the country by common efforts out of the deep crisis, if the 90-day period of calm, so badly coveted and broadly accepted by society, has been systematically violated from the very beginning?

The question of what real intentions, what socialism and what renewal mean here has at least been partially answered by the sources of foreign assistance, the routes of trips made abroad and contacts established abroad by a significant number of Solidarity figures and advisers, and by the substance of interviews given by them while abroad. What renders the exposure of the intentions--which are no longer concealed--cherished by counterrevolutionary forces, and of the threats to Poland and socialism, more difficult is the disorientation which has arisen also within party ranks, and the slanderous propaganda campaign conducted to undermine confidence in the authorities.

Another pretext--but only a pretext--has been supplied by the Bydgoszcz affair. I would not be a communist and would not be myself if I did not say--risking my popularity everywhere and even in this hall--that I endorse the assessment of the origins and the political interpretation of the background of the Bydgoszcz events set forth in the Politburo statement dated 22 March 1981. I also fully accept the evaluation and conclusions set forth in Deputy Premier Rakowski's statement Thursday.

It was not the lack of our good will that caused that deplorable incident.

While speaking today about the renewal, we must, in light of the facts, think in terms of its fundamental problems, such as the future of the system and the socialist state, of our party, in terms of the foundations of our national existence. A condition for overcoming the deep political crisis lies, apart from continuing the line of agreement and cooperation, in consolidating party ranks and restoring the ideological and organizational strength of the party.

The current internal party discussion is contributing many constructive elements in favor of unity and cohesion. The attitudes and behavior of some comrades, for example of Werblan or Bratkowski, the more so deserve to be branded as extremely harmful for consolidating the party's unity. It is to be deplored that Comrade Werblan was so late in manifesting his eagerness to act and his vigor. It is also a pity that he has done so little to expand internal party democracy, although he has been in the party leadership for so many years. Only now has he resolved to voice revolutionary theories and to support the forms of activity of party cells within structures not always corresponding to the party statutes.

I have already mentioned Bratkowski's "open letter" and evaluated its nature. I regard its broad dissemination as openly subversive activity. As far as its substance is concerned, I consider that our prominent classifier of internal party groups and forces overlooked an extremely important group--the group of the so-called weak-headed persons devoid of principles. He would be an ideal chairman for that group. Having scrutinized a few of his recent statements and publications, I have not even the slightest doubt that the author of "The Gamble for Tomorrow" has now been involved in a gamble very dangerous to our country. It is not a shame to be numbered by Bratkowski in the group of "those thick-headed" in the defense of socialism. But it is for me a real humiliation--and that I am not trying to conceal--to be aware that I belong to the same party and hold an identical party card as Bratkowski does.

As far as the division in the relations within the Politburo is concerned, I do not intend to discuss with Bratkowski, since 1) I am unable to confirm such a division and the existence of such a fact, and 2) I am not used to replying to a common provocation.

While taking the floor at this high tribune, I have frequently shared with you my anxieties and concerns about the destinies of our party and Poland. I saw such a threat and danger while criticizing, at the 9th and particularly at the 13th plenums, the irregularities and deformations in the functioning of the party. That was my personal school of renewal whose need and inevitability I saw much earlier than many present reformers. I called for it aloud.

The same motives and the actual feeling of responsibility dictate that I state now in an unequivocal way: Poland, our party and socialism have now confronted grave threats, maybe the gravest ones. Let us see in time and correctly evaluate the source of real dangers to them. Let us see the authentic forces pushing toward a catastrophe and toward the ruin of the nation, in order not to compel history to pass a severe sentence and condemn us.

In presenting, in the most general manner, my evaluations of and stance on the most vital interests of the party, I place the party functions entrusted to me at the disposal of the Central Committee.

GDANSK SHIPYARD SECRETARY ON INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE

LD051634 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Text] After the ninth plenum of the Central Committee this week we have been observing tremendous animation in intraparty life. As is well known, the results of this plenum were received by party organizations with various, often very critical, (?assessments). The members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee have had meetings at big factories in accordance with the plenum's recommendations. Discussion on the subject of the place and role of the party in getting out of the crisis is definitely heating up, including within the party itself. We have asked our colleague from Gdansk, Mieczyslaw Serafin, to interview Jan (Jawedzki), a member of the Central Committee since the 8th congress, who 1 and 1/2 months ago became first secretary of the factory party committee at the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard.

[Serafin] We are speaking of a week which has been a very stormy one. The week kicked off with the deliberations of the 9th plenum of the Central Committee. We waited anxiously for the decision of Solidarity on the general strike. Things are calmer, but the temperature of party life continues to be high.

[Jawedzki] Basically, I would not like to say anything about the party as a whole because one would have to be familiar with all regions, what is going on there and how party life appears there. From telexes that are being sent out and from various resolutions and decisions it transpires that the temperature of this life really is high. It also transpires that in general the same demands are being made everywhere and the same postulates are being made which basically are restricted to several fundamental matters. Among others, you might say that one of the most important points is the Politburo regaining its credibility--this is contained in just about every resolution. Another point concerns personnel (?matters) in the Politburo, and this was strongly emphasized by the 9th plenum of the Central Committee.

This is where we get the great disillusionment in the lower party ranks that this somehow was not cleared up. But let us be honest: The ninth extraordinary congress no doubt will solve these matters in a democratic manner, we hope, and without any kind of greater disturbances.

At the Gdansk shipyard the temperature of party life really is high. We have drawn up a sharp and strong program imparting involvement of great forces to the whole party because this is no longer only to the committee, not only to the executive officers and the plenum but also to the whole party. [sentence as heard] Above all, we are proposing a return to the good tradition of Comrade Fiszbach, first secretary of the voivodship committee, in meeting with party groups. These meetings will be continued over the whole year because they produce many interesting solutions and interesting views. In any event, these meetings produce material for work of party groups and for lower echelons of the party. In the near future we also will organize meetings with the whole party organization, headed by Comrade Kania, and with other comrades of the government at which we wish to discuss current party issues and the views of the party organization on all problems.

[Serafin] The events of the past few weeks and months must have given rise to a weakening in the motivation in many comrades.

[Jawedzki] That goes without saying. I would say--on the other hand perhaps there has not been such a weakening here at the shipyard because in the final analysis this turned out for the best--this was caused by the decisions and resolutions of the 9th plenum. There were announcements that party membership cards would be handed in, but thanks to the determination of the party organization, which mobilized its forces and which stuck it out at the same time as the plenum--through the day, night and until the morning and afternoon of the next day--the party gained the support and faith of party members that it nevertheless is represented by comrades who are capable of showing that they want to fight for this party and for its new appearance. And I would say this is great capital that has been invested. This has not been in vain, this has not been a defeat but a great victory [word indistinct].

[Serafin] But at the same time, on Monday morning when Comrade Fiszbach came here straight from the airport, I saw tears in the eyes of old party members.

[Jawedzki] Yes, these are tragedies. Yes, indeed, we were really exhausted. When I looked at the faces of those comrades who had gathered here in this hall of ours, that is in the conference hall, I had to state that there was a [word indistinct] between us. Physically and mentally exhausted, in the sweat-covered, if I may say so, faces, in the tired eyes, in the dashed hopes [sentence uncompleted]. But there was one difference: Up to a certain time during the night hours they had great hopes that all matters would be dealt with successfully, but afterwards suddenly there was disillusionment. That was the only difference, since in turn we who were there on the spot experienced this differently. We saw the course of events. After all, we had running information and views, but they did not have this here. They were waiting. They knew that things would be settled, but they were not settled. In this connection (?that was the difference).

We, together with Comrade Fiszbach, imposed our authority here in the hall in order not to waste in vain the time of those members who had stuck it out for so long here. Basically, this passed the test, but a general statement of fact was made: What will we say down below to the rank-and-file members of the party?

[Serafin] Precisely...

[Jawedzki] Well, what could they say? They could say, give their view, that we prize this--our members of the Central Committee from this area--that we share their views, that we think in the same way and act in the same way and that we will also act in the same way in the future until the new face of the party [word indistinct]. This is a sharp struggle over whether the party is to remain in the old form and whether it can exist, or whether the party will exist, and will exist well, in the new form--in other words, in its renewed form--because at present a struggle is going on in this context. And this is a sharp struggle in the bosom of the party itself. Of course, certain comrades from various levels claim that this is not true, that lower party echelons are stubborn. But here the comrades know what to fight for. The only thing that remains for us to do is to show determination in the struggle for a renewed party.

[Sarafin] Economic reform might save the economic situation in the country, but the general feeling is that economic reform in the country must be preceded by a reform in political life.

[Jawedzki] I made reservations at sessions of the economic reform that many subjects in the political sense are closely linked with the reality of the economy because if we say, whether we want it or not, the leading role of the party then we have to define what this role is to be. And this in turn must be established at the congress. This is the reason why this congress--the date of it--has to be accelerated so that in these fundamental directions things like the party's leading role and democratic centralism should be (?crystallized). After all, these are important matters and are difficult matters because the postwar history of our party has confirmed that we have been making blunders here all the time. It is true, the (?statute) lays out these problems relatively clearly, but life goes its own way. In this connection one must ensure that these blunders are not repeated in the future. As for the economic reform itself, then I think that a renewed party is capable of carrying it out.

[Serafin] We are living in very difficult times, in times of a great test. We say that the thing we need most is calm and prudence. What else? Tenacity?

[Jawedzki] I think that what we need most is consistency in implementing things. We have always lacked this--the so-called Polish (?subdued) enthusiasm.

[Serafin] Impatience?

[Jawedzki] Impatience, yes. We must have consistency in what we do. What we plan we must implement without any concessions. This is a very difficult matter because in a war it is very easy to be heroic but it is difficult, exceptionally difficult, to live every day in a disciplined manner in social (?crises).

[Serafin] Particularly during a crisis.

[Jawedzki] Particularly during a crisis. After all, we have here such possibilities of overstepping the law in different ways and making various kinds of combinations--it would be impossible to quote them--but combinations grow like flowers in a field. We have the result of this today. This is why we have a crisis (?in) the consistency with which these planned programs, well-planned ones of course, are fulfilled.

[Serafin] And what guarantees do we have that we will create good programs?

[Jawedzki] I think that whatever we create it cannot be constant, it cannot be (?assumed) in advance that this is constant and cannot be improved or amended. Our situation is complicated, all the more so because we are seeking a new way, a new socialism in Poland--maybe not a new socialism but a new model which would be an adaptation to our reality, to Poles. And in this connection we can count on the fact that somehwere along the line we will commit mistakes. In this connection we will have to make running amendments based on the opinion of the trade unions, on the opinion of the lower party echelons and on the opinion of citizens.

Quite simply we have to listen to them; we have to know how to convey this data, to adapt it to the existing times and draw the appropriate conclusions. I set the problem of a fighting party because it is only such a party that has a chance of developing and of being a leading one. No party which wants to rest on its laurels, and particularly our party, will stand up to the course of events. It will, quite simply, lose. This party must be a fighting party all the time--fighting for a new reality, for a better reality, for people's consciences.

I can already see the beginnings of such a party, a fighting party, one which is not forced to work but one which needs, demands and says it will make every effort at work but wants to see the results. We have many faults in our mentality, in our Polish mentality. Perhaps this is good because it is Polish, but we know that it is even bad [words indistinct]. This is a difficult age--an age which has to be crushed slowly but systematically. (?I would like) a great deal of consistency, but this will depend on whether our reality is equal to provisions and views and what is said. Then we will have the chance to crush this age if this is not impossible.

[Serafin] In other words, two words can sum up our conversation: consistency and credibility.

[Jawedzki] Yes, only this: Consistency all the time and then credibility all the time.

DISCUSSION PROGRAM COMMENTS ON PARTY EVENTS

LD031840 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 3 Apr 81

["Music and Topics" discussion program held with three unidentified speakers--live or recorded]

[Text] [First speaker] We read in today's TRYBUNA LUDU:

[Second speaker] In the primary party organizations the time has come for greater cohesion and offensiveness, for a bolder breaking down of bureaucratic barriers of factory administration and of conventional forms of work by the party apparatus at all levels. The terms "counterrevolution" and "antisocialism" are being used excessively. One must differentiate between gold and dirt. I think that the present time requires honesty and boldness as never before. The party is capable of action on the condition that this action is conducted under consistent and honest leadership.

[First speaker] The coming 1 May holiday should be devoted to voluntary work by party members in factories for the benefit of agriculture, output for the domestic market and of the construction industry without the construction of costly decorations, without banners and without orchestras. The only thing we can afford right now is good, honest work. These are some of the things said by workers at yesterday's meeting of the Warsaw party aktiv with Stanislaw Kania.

[Third speaker] And now a few more sentences from another meeting, a meeting with Antoni Wrobel, member of the Central Committee and electromechanical engineer, and the workforce of the Mazowieckie refinery.

[Second speaker] Would you please explain why you voted for the motion by Comrade Szymanski from Wloclawek who proposed that the resignations of certain members of the Politburo should be rejected. Did someone tell this comrade to do this?

[First speaker] I did not get the impression that this motion was the upshot of some sort of manipulation. I supported it for several reasons. Above all I thought: If we remove several comrades from the Politburo then we shall have to replace them with others. Will it not be much better if the congress carries out the changes--a congress which will have at its disposal new people chosen in democratic elections? The workers must be represented more widely in the Central Committee and also in the Politburo.

[Second speaker] Why should Bratkowski be punished?

[First speaker] (Alfred Walek), first secretary of a voivodship party committee, replies:

[Third speaker, reading (Walek) reply] I did not interpret it in that way. As I understood it, the party Central Control Commission was to have talks with him, discuss his views.

[First speaker] And Antoni Wrobel again.

[Third speaker] Read for yourself the plenum materials. Several important conclusions arise from them. So-called "solutions by force" are out of the question.

[First speaker] A date for the congress has been set and the definition of political responsibility by party members guilty of violating the norms of the law and moral laws has been fixed. Also established has been the matter of criminal, and not only political, responsibility of persons guilty of exploiting their position and of violating the norms of the law. Election regulations have been approved. One can have misgivings towards them but they make possible the democratic election of delegates for the ninth congress.

[Third speaker] The meeting between the leadership of the party and Central Committee members and the workforces at factories were guaranteed in the resolutions of the last plenum. The press is publishing extensive reports and is reproducing faithfully the sharp tone of discussions. Radio and television have broadcast a large amount of news, including the speech by Stanislaw Kania at the meeting in Warsaw. The dialogue continues. One has to go in a downward direction and listen to the voice of the nation in order to hoist oneself upwards.

RESOLUTION TO PZPR ADOPTED BY POLISH OCEAN LINES

LD051606 Warsaw PAP Maritime Service in Polish 1200 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Resolution adopted by Polish Ocean Lines Basic Party Organization plenum, 3 April--PAP headline]

[Text] Gdansk-Gdynia, 5 Apr (PAP)--After acquainting ourselves with the attitudes of party organizations on different ships and with the documents of the ninth plenum, we declare:

1. The Basic Party Organization [BPO] in the Polish Ocean Lines welcomes with pleasure that part of the revolution of the ninth plenum which is concerned with the solution of disputed problems only through political means.

2. The resolution of the ninth plenum does not reflect the plenary discussion, and in this connection we demand:

A. The convening of the 10th plenum by 15 April 1981;

B. The carrying out of an analysis of work, attitudes and views of each member of the Central Committee Politburo and the Secretariat with a view to drawing the appropriate conclusions;

C. Suspension of the membership of all comrades in the Central Committee against whom investigations are in progress, until these are completed;

D. The publication of full texts of speeches made by members of the Central Committee Politburo, the Secretariat, to thus avoid the manipulation of their contents;

E. Explanation of the nonimplementation of the decisions of the sixth, seventh and eighth plena, and especially clarification of the reasons for the delays in fixing the date for the special congress;

F. Determination of the date of the opening of the ninth congress, which has to end by 20 July 1981;

G. That only members who have the mandate of a delegate elected democratically in a secret ballot in their BPO be permitted to be delegates [to the congress];

H. That the date be fixed for the investigation of persons from the party's and state's central authorities responsible for the creation of social and political tensions; and

I. That delegates to the party's ninth congress be enabled to present their concepts on the problem of their work before future party authorities, as well as their positions on the country's current problems.

3. We are of the opinion that the statement made in the open letter by Bratkowski is justified, and we postulate that the Central Party Control Commission should use the contents of the letter when carrying out appraisal of the work and true attitudes of members of the Politburo and the Secretariat.

4. We deem it imperative that party echelons at all levels and trade unions should cooperate.

5. We express our approval of the 4 April resolutions of the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard and the 28 March resolution of the BPO of the Polish Steamship Company.

6. We are asking all members of the PZPR, and particularly those of the BPO in the Polish Ocean Lines, not to express their protests by handing in their party membership cards. Renewal can be implemented only with the participation of all members of the party.

[Signed] For the plenum of the Basic Party Organization in the Polish Ocean Lines, E. Kieronczyk, first secretary.

OLSZOWSKI, OTHERS ATTEND WARSAW PARTY MEETING

LD032246 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Meetings between members of the highest party authorities and party aktivs of the largest work enterprises are being held throughout the country.

In the Warsaw steelworks, a working conference of the party aktiv took place today with the participation of Stefan Olszowski, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee. The main object of the conference, said the first secretary of the factory party committee, (Wieslaw Bienda), is the provision of conclusions for further work by the party leadership and earnest discussion on how to lead the country out of the crisis.

Next, Stefan Olszowski took the floor. He considered fixing a date for the extraordinary party congress as a valuable result of the ninth plenum and the adoption of a new democratic election procedure. Stefan Olszowski considered democratization and authentic discussion as an important gain in innerparty life in the post-August period.

As a positive factor in the agreement between Solidarity and the government, he listed the method of talks and negotiations which has been worked out. Referring to the situation at home, Stefan Olszowski described the main steps to get out of the crisis. These are: socialist renewal, development of democracy, the consolidation of the party, introduction of economic reforms, regulation of social life by laws, negotiations, agreements, partnership with trade unions without the threat of strike, cooperation with socialist countries and the consolidation of that cooperation. The cause of evil in our economy, said Stefan Olszowski, is among other things, wrong Western licences [for domestic production].

At the request of the assembly, Stefan Olszowski recalled his career and functions performed in the party. He said, among other things, that in 1976 he presented to Edward Gierek the thesis that during times of recession in capitalist countries, we should not raise loans--unfortunately without success [in persuading Gierek].

A discussion followed with party aktivists of the Warsaw steelworks and workers. They said that autocracy is a great enemy of the party. They demanded punishment of people responsible for the present state of the country. They demanded speedy and honest information, and not to repeat old compromised methods of so-called bringing people in briefcases [practice of party members making appointments from lists in briefcases].

The assessment of events in Bydgoszcz expressed by the Politburo on 22 March this year was criticized. Attention also was drawn to the danger of the party leadership losing contact with the working masses. Repeated demands were made for authentic consultations in making important decisions; ways for informing the community were discussed at length.

We do not want to listen to Radio Free Europe, it was said. We want honest and full information and truth, even if it is bad. We do not want the word counterrevolution to be used, Solidarity was spoken of as a defender of the rights of workers. [sentence as heard]

We want the party to enjoy the trust of the entire community, and we want to settle Polish affairs ourselves.

After the discussion Stefan Olszowski answered questions put to him by the assembly.

Olszowski Speech to Aktiv

LD041316 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2120 GMT 3 Apr 81

["Extensive Excerpts" of speech by Stefan Olszowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee, at 3 April meeting of PZPR aktiv at Warsaw steel plant--recorded]

[Text] We are aware, in the political sense, that our plenum and its results have met with varying reception in many party organizations. There was positive reaction as well as reaction full of doubts and also negative reaction. I think that this is not really all that surprising, since the situation is an extraordinary one, unusual, requiring extraordinary effort to correctly shed light on it and to draw proper conclusions from it.

What are, in my view, the indubitable results that attest to the working character of this plenum? In the first place, we have set a date for the congress. This is very important. I, too, spoke at the Central Committee plenum in favor of setting the date for the congress. This date, around 20 July, is, I think, a realistic date which makes it possible both to hold properly the whole congress campaign and also to carry out the appropriately deepened work on preparing our party's program. I also believe that the fact that the date of the congress roughly coincides with the holiday of 22 July, the anniversary of the founding of our socialist statehood, is a positive thing.

In the second place, the fact that a resolution has been passed on commencing a report-back and election campaign in the party, the fact that a deadline has been set for it and that election principles have been defined, based on remarks which are universally made by party organizations concerning the statutory election procedures, is, in my opinion, decidedly a positive result of the plenum.

I think we all of us can today state with full conviction that these elections make it possible to shape the party leadership of the future in a fully democratic way, one that will permit and make possible an unencumbered putting forward of opinions of the participants, ones that deserve to be put forward; that they will make it possible both to properly carry out the process of renewing party authorities, termed rotation by some, and, third, at long last, they will make it possible to maintain a continuation, essential as far as all levels of the ruling party are concerned; that is to say that a certain proportion of party authorities will be retained so that the party may continue to function properly.

This is because we are not only a leading party, but also a ruling party. I will have a few words to say on this in a moment.

Now, as far as the plenum resolution is concerned, I would like to say that the resolution, properly speaking, makes a few important issues more precise. I mean those I have spoken of at the beginning but the resolution also pertains to the activities of our delegation at the 26th CPSU Congress and, finally, the resolution adopts tentative conclusions [ustalenia] concerning the extension of the mandate for the Politburo so that it may discharge its functions. I will dwell on this matter in greater detail in a moment.

I would also like to stress that the discussion at this plenum was fully democratic, like at all preceding ones. This means that everyone spoke his mind, stating everything he thought correct and needed to be said, stating what his party organization authorized him to state, outlining these viewpoints in an unhindered manner. Likewise, those members of the party leadership who took the floor, including me, outlined our views in a similar, unhindered manner, availing ourselves of democratic principles. I think this is normal and is how it should be. I think that discussion at the plenary sessions of the Central Committee should always stand out by its democratic nature. Today it is much easier to make one's voice heard than was the case at other times when--well, those whose attitude was different did encounter a kind of resistance. We should observe the principles of this democratism. This is a Leninist norm. But once a decision has been made, it must be implemented in unison. I think therein lies this great authenticity of our inner party life. If I reflected on what constitutes an achievement in the post-August period, I would say that authenticity in discussions and authenticity of party life constitute achievements as far as the life of the party is concerned.

Before the Central Committee plenum--attention must clearly be drawn to this--there took place events of enormous significance for the life of the country, events that had to be reflected in the social atmosphere. Among these events, I would, first, include the events in Bydgoszcz. Second, I would include the general warning strike that took place in (?August). All this raised significantly the temperature of life in the country; it raised the temperature of moods. In fact, as far as the strike is concerned--and let us here look the truth in the eye--it had a devastating effect on soberly minded people and party members.

The letter from Comrade Stefan Bratkoswki which loudly proclaimed that there was a line dividing the party leadership and purported to show that allegedly there existed inflexible people contributed to all this.

Since I have engaged in polemics with Comrade Bratkowski several times, directly, eye to eye, during sessions of the Congress Commission, concerning a number of views he holds: such as, for instance, the question of the party's attitude toward and interpretation of the world, the question of democratic centralism, the questions of mutual relations with our neighbors and allies--well, I think I can speak of this with clear conscience. I also think you will not hold it against me if I make my views on this known, even though I take sides here.

Well, I wish to say that without a doubt, Comrade Bratkoswki does have a right to hold such views. This is indubitable. No one can take it away from him or negate it. I and Comrade Bratkoswki used to engage repeatedly in polemics in the past. We have known each other for a long time now. One cannot therefore have complaints here, because the central [words indistinct] commission will give its view on whether he was right when he mentioned these divisions within the leadership or not. What one can and should complain about is something that really does go against a certain order in the party: namely, that his letter was disseminated via nonparty channels, via PAP and certain other teleprinters and that it was, so to speak, very eagerly seized upon by certain Solidarity links and, so to speak, inscribed upon their banner. Here I would say this: This is not done in the party.

This should not be done because what is being done in the party should (?be kept within the party).

The second matter connected with the situation in the country is the aggravation, already mentioned, connected with the Bydgoszcz events. One certainly has to deplore the events which occurred there and, in particular, the beating up of three Solidarity activists--and this is precisely what I said at the plenum. On the other hand, however, one cannot regard Solidarity's actions as blameless since the occupation of state buildings, not only in Bydgoszcz but also in other localities, is certainly to be condemned. However, let us hope that this is not a trend, that this is not a mode of action binding on Solidarity as a whole but merely a mode manifest in those Solidarity organizations, characteristic for those Solidarity organizations, in which clearly adventurist and extremist trends appear.

I will quote here as an example a letter written by Rulewski and addressed to the National Consultative Commission [KKP]. Rulewski, criticizing Walesa, writes as follows: There was a state of national uprising. You, our delegates, you had trump cards at least half of which you could have played to win. You did not win anything. You did not utilize the self-compromising Central Committee plenum during which the so-called lower rank and file of the party were smashing the party clique to smithereens in the protest by young councillors [of Bydgoszcz People's Council]. You lost all the cards, including the issues of censorship, political prisoners and farmers. On the basis of my frequent personal contacts with Walesa and the results of his action my conclusion is that he violated our common decision (?three) times. This brings disgrace upon our union, which not only did not defend successfully the dignity of people who were beaten up but also sold the hopes of other social groups.

Well, one can say fortunately a trend of greater common sense is prevailing in Solidarity. This does not come easily but most probably such adventuristic actions will be condemned more and more resolutely by the majority. At this moment however, they still have some influence on the political situation of the country. The danger of strikes is, of course, one element of this political situation and it was [words indistinct].

Against this background, I would like to express my personal opinion that notwithstanding what some of us present here may dislike in the 30 March agreement the fact remains that the main reason for concluding this agreement was the postponement of the strike, the removal of its ominous specter and a certain appeasement of feelings. Second, I consider that a very positive result of this 30 March agreement is that a mechanism of negotiations was introduced which should remain binding in the bilateral contacts between the government Committee for Trade Union Affairs and Solidarity.

However, there are also negative aspects in the agreement and among these I consider what looks like the way being paved for the legalization of Rural Solidarity. I do not think that any good to the country can result from this legalization of Rural Solidarity. It includes proposals for large increases in the prices of agricultural products, the lowering of prices of articles destined for rural areas, and well, there is a tendency toward establishing a political party in the rural areas.

Against this background, I would like to say that unfortunately, owing to the state of social and economic tensions, Poland is becoming a country of weakened state structures, it is becoming a weakened link in the community of the socialist states, and, in this community and in the world and European arena, Poland has an important role to play from the viewpoint of security of the community and of Poland itself.

Now let us concern ourselves with extricating ourselves from this situation. First, emerging from this situation involves continually and consistently following the road of socialist renewal. This is indisputable [words indistinct]. This means, expanding democratism and, at the same time, creating a strong state and a strong party within this state.

Whoever is responsible for what has happened in the country, for the deformations which arose, should, of course, be punished. But I firmly support political punishment for political violations and legal punishment for violations of the criminal law.

I also believe that this should be done without a witch hunt and without a campaign directed especially against the party cadres because there is always the threat that the campaign does not always apply only to the upper ranks of the party but eventually spreads to the whole party. I have repeatedly spoken against this witch hunt against party cadres and I shall continue to do so because I am in favor of saying yes to democracy, but no to anarchy.

Second, we should follow the road of economic reforms. This is extremely important today. We have, in fact, one main plan for economic reform which has been worked out by the commission set up on the initiative of the Politburo and the government. This commission has worked out a most extensive and comprehensive program covering all sectors of our life.

What are these projects? There is one from professor Balcerowicz; there is one from Professor (Kaleba) and his team from the Academy of Economic Sciences in Wroclaw; there is also one from the Polish Economic Society.

I would like to say that in all these projects there are a number of common elements. They are all characterized by a deeper and more extensive introduction of economic mechanisms. But the government project is comprehensive because it is this project that emphasizes the role of the enterprise, puts the enterprise on a self-governing basis in a new way. It introduces clear criteria for the appraisal of an enterprise through its income and profits. It stands on the platform of economic balance; it stands on the platform of regulating the prices of both supplies and retail goods--and here I must underline that prices of supplies always influence retail prices. It stands on the platform of introducing the regulation of wages in relation to output; it stands on the platform of self-government. This is the second direction which will determine our emergence from the crisis.

The third direction lies in our following the road of regulation of public life through laws--through the introduction of a law on trade unions, on workers', agricultural and cooperative self-government and also a law on censorship.

The draft bill on censorship--and there are those who say that it is being delayed--will be submitted to the Sejm most probably tomorrow, as a mature draft and a draft which, I would say, is quite democratic. It will be a matter of very great responsibility and prudence for chief editors and working journalists to make use of this law in a wise and responsible manner.

Fourth, I believe that we must follow the road of negotiations and agreements with trade unions; that relations with Solidarity, with branch and autonomous trade unions should be a partnership type, without the strike pistol, and essentially based on the negotiating mechanism which was spoken of in the agreement signed on 30 March, because a strike is an evil spirit for a socialist state system.

One can quite easily imagine a picture of our state after 4 or 5 days of a general strike. Poland would, in fact, have ceased to exist as a cohesive state. We must follow the road of cooperation with socialist countries, with the CPSU, and with other fraternal parties.

I would say that (?we are concerned mostly with) economic matters. The greatest damage was caused especially after 1974, after the first national conference, through the very high jump of investment indices, the extensive purchases of investment licences and the negligence in cooperation with socialist countries.

Had we based our bus problem on the Ikarus we would have solved the problem by today. Had we based the problem of tractors on our own Ursus Zetor cooperative concept, this, too, would have been solved, and one could give a number of other examples: the example of color television sets, which should have been based on cooperation with the Soviet Union. This problem, too, would have been solved.

But if we want to solve our economic problems we must remain consistently on the platform of cooperation with the socialist countries and base ourselves on the Soviet market.

Finally, we are facing the 9th congress. I would like to say that at the next plenum, the 10th, we shall be discussing both the provisions which comrades already know and which have been sent for review to the large enterprises--the program provisions--and the new party statute, which takes into account the fruits of the discussions in party organizations, and that at that congress we should present the new program for socialist Poland.

The congress will also reveal the new authorities. This is clear. The object of the democratic elections will be the election of the kind of leadership that is desired by the party.

Workers' Reply

LD041454 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2140 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Here are excerpts from a few speeches which in our opinion illustrate quite well the atmosphere of today's discussion in the Warsaw steel plant [following an address by PZPR Central Committee Politburo member Stefan Olszowski]. Kazimierz Krzesinski, from the forging department, is now speaking.

[Begin recording] While listening to the debates at the ninth plenum, we got the impression that members of the party, men of one nation, speak in two different tongues. The language of members of the Central Committee who are directly linked with the workforces is quite different from the language used by party activists isolated from the party masses.

We do not understand why this should be so. It is the same party, the goals are the same. I can only think that the defense of their own professional positions is involved because today, without hiding anything, one can state that the profession of activist has been created. Professional activists have usurped the right--it is only they who can rule the party. They believe that without them the party faces collapse.

The events of recent months have shown something quite different. For this reason there is a deliberate aim to delay the holding of the ninth congress. It transpired that this threatened a split in the party in the name of personal interests.

The party organization in Gdansk has organized things differently and for this they deserve words of praise.

In addition, no action has been taken against compromised persons. They have not been charged as economic criminals acting against the interests of the Polish nation.

Although in the discussions in the basic party organizations suggestions were made that some people fear being made to account for their activities because they, too, have unclean hands, it must be stated that many of them hold decorations of "builder of People's Poland," which has been ruined economically. Hence the conclusion that they should be punished by the court as soon as possible and that their decorations which they were unjustly bestowed should be withdrawn.

A climate has been created in the party to praise secretaries. The fundamental principle of our system should be the dictatorship of the proletariat, but a dictatorship of secretaries has been created. A principle was accepted that the more secretaries there are in the country, the more fruitful will be the work of the party.

How wrong this has proved to be. Only a form of meetings with the highest authorities and horizontal work in the party can create a climate for restoring confidence in the party.

In addition, there came to the fore activists for whom the top priority was obtaining accommodation, a car, a telephone and other goods, which the working class has so heroically produced.

As the result of such an approach to problems, a revolt of the working class has taken place and has been treated by the activists as the work of antisocialist forces.

Conflicts in the work of the party have not been avoided. What has the Warsaw party organization done since the change of secretary? Nothing. No party actions have taken place in Warsaw. I am not thinking about party actions at the plenum of the Warsaw committee. I have in mind work with the working masses. [end recording]

Now, an excerpt from the speech made by Wlodzimierz Sanowski, member of the Socialist Union of Polish Youth in the Warsaw steel plant.

[Begin recording] I would like to draw attention to what might seem a minor fact but I will develop the idea and comrades will be able to express a view on the matter.

I want to speak on equal opportunity to education and knowledge. We are all aware of the fact that in Poland everybody does not have equal chances. It is a fact that for over a dozen years the intelligentsia has been reproducing itself on its own. This results from the environment. I understand that Minister Gorski might have made a mistake by signing an agreement with students which, in fact, was concerned with the abolishment of points based on one's origin [peasant and workers' children were allocated additional points for entry into universities] in examinations for higher studies and of promotion of the best people for higher studies.

But the party as such must not make this mistake.

Why was such a demand from students accepted, without asking the wide masses of the young who want to study for their opinion? I am aware of the fact that this system of giving preference to some based on their origin was not the best, but at least it was a system. Now we are without one. In my opinion, comrades, this is a blow against the working class. If we do not realize this now, then in a few years' time this will yield results. The young generation will not be aware of the needs of the working class because they will not be of the working class and will have no idea what the working class is. Thank you. [end recording]

Now an excerpt from a speech made during the discussion by Kazimierz Mloczynski, from the department of hygiene and safety at the plant.

[Begin recording] Comrade secretaries, for 4 years wherever I could, I asked at party meetings: Where are we going? There is a brick wall ahead.

Some people--bold ones--were sacked. I was sacked, too, because I did not speak about personal problems, I spoke about party matters, about the problems of the youth movement.

We want legality in this country! Every one of us, from the sweeper to the minister, to the secretary of the Central Committee!

That is what we will support and we shall continue to do so.

The question is: What about the central and the universal [as heard] activists? He was a minister and they made him a secretary. [Words indistinct] are these people so clever that they know everything? Do they know everything? Can they manage ministries?

What hurts us most is that compromised people are being sent to diplomatic posts!

Comrade secretary, I have a grudge against the higher authorities. It is this: If the situation was so dangerous, so critical, as the comrade secretary described it here regarding the differences of opinion, then why did no one come to us, to the enterprise, the plant or shipyard to say to us: Comrades, the situation is such and such. Workers, we must clarify this matter.

But no one arrived. We alone worried about it; we alone struggled to sort things out somehow.

We now have to drink the cup of bitterness--we at the bottom. All of us here have to listen to insults and other things.

I shall say more: I have joined Solidarity, like many other people, to protect the interests of trade unions, to make this workers' movement healthy, prudent and to direct us wisely.

Another problem which is of very great interest to me: I watch television. Why do I have to watch the BBC all the time? I have to; I am forced to do so. Our work, be it daily work, or the television news, it is all the same. Why should it be so?

We want the press, truly, comrade secretary. We want the press and you are responsible for it. We want honest press. Let it be bad but honest. We, the working people, demand this.

We want good things to happen in our party, we want all the people to speak well about the party and not badly. Quite often, I can tell you, comrade secretary, I sat thinking: What shall I do? Shall I hand it in? If I do, shall I (?be out)? No, I shall fight, I shall speak, right up to the highest authorities, to work for the renewal that is real, so that the renewal will be real.

The people whom we shall elect, irrespective of who they are--but I think the good, honest ones--to the new authorities, must represent us in the Central Committee. They have to have meetings with us and they have to serve us. [end recording]

OLSZOWSKI CHAIRS PROPAGANDA SECRETARIES CONFERENCE

LD041742 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Text] A conference of propaganda secretaries of the voivodship party committees was held today by the PZPR Central Committee. The conference was chaired by Stefan Olszowski, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee. The opening remarks were made by Walery Namiotkiewicz, director of the Ideoeducational Work Department of the Central Committee, who discussed current tasks of the ideological section of the party against the background of the political situation at home after the Ninth Central Committee Plenum.

Next, director of the Central Committee Cultural Department, Mieczyslaw Woutczak, described the situation in cultural circles, and Jerzy Grochmalicki, first deputy director of the Organization Department of the Central Committee, reported on current questions in party organizational work. Discussion followed.

The conference was summed up by Stefan Olszowski, who emphasized the importance of party ideological work for the process of socialist renewal. He also dealt with problems mentioned in the discussion and discussed main trends in propaganda activity for the near future.

WASZCZUK ADDRESSES WROCLAW COMMISSION ON PARTY

LD042106 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1930 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Text] A meeting of the Wroclaw Voivodship congress commission was held today. Taking part in it was Jerzy Waszczuk, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The most important social, economic and ideological-political issues were examined during the discussion, while taking into account matters concerning all groups in Wroclaw Voivodship. Matters connected with the Ninth Plenum of the party Central Committee were also discussed.

In answering remarks submitted to the draft program provisions for the Ninth PZPR Congress, Jerzy Waszczuk stressed that the aim of the proposals contained in the theses is the drawing up of norms to ensure the observation of Leninist principles in the party's activities. Jerzy Waszczuk said that today, when our country finds itself in a dramatic economic situation and when a political struggle is in progress, it is vital to have unity and the consolidationof the party in matters which are of fundamental importance for socialism in Poland.

Politburo Defended

LD050324 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0300 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Text] A session of the Wroclaw Voivodship Congress Commission was held yesterday attended by Jerzy Waszczuk, alternate member of the Politburo and secretary of the party's Central Committee. The session was devoted to the theses prepared for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

During the discussions, Jerzy Waszczuk stated, among other things, that it was certain that a number of critical remarks about the Politburo were justified and correct. However, no one could accuse the Politburo as an entity--or some of its members--of one thing: Departing from the line of the sixth, seventh and eighth plenary sessions of the Central Committee.

Replying to remarks being made about the draft program provisions for the ninth congress pertaining, in particular, to the functioning of the party, Jerzy Waszczuk emphasized that the proposals contained in the theses aimed at defining norms would ensure the observance of Leninist norms in the party's activities. These principles included the unity of intraparty democracy and democratic centralism.

FISZBACH, WOJTASZEK, OTHERS ATTEND PARTY MEETINGS

LD032210 Warsaw PAP in English 2058 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Apr (PAP)--Meetings of party organizations and party activists held today in many parts of the country focused on the most important tasks facing the party after the 9th plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee and before the 9th extraordinary party congress.

Members of the party leadership present at these meetings answered numerous questions.

Stefan Olszowski, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PUWP Central Committee met with party activists at the Warsaw [words indistinct].

Tadeusz Fiszbach, alternate member of the Political Bureau and first secretary of the PUWP Voivodship Committee in Gdansk attended the report-election conference of the Gdynia port party organization.

Wladyslaw Kruk, alternate member of the Political Bureau and first secretary of the PUWP Voivodship Committee in Lublin met with party members of the Lublin [words indistinct] factory.

Emil Wojtaszek, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, attend a meeting of party activists in Cieszyn.

Wojtaszek Speaks in Cieszyn

LD031428 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] A debate on the most important tasks resulting from the decisions of the last plenary meeting of the party Central Committee is being held in party organizations all over the country. In big industrial plants meetings are being held and attended by members of the party leadership.

Today, Emil Wojtaszek, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo [title as heard, listed in bureau records as full member], attended a meeting of the party aktiv from works and enterprises in Cieszyn, held at the (Emselma) electric machines works. Speaking on the debates of the ninth plenum he stressed, among other things, the need to consolidate the party around the leading forces of the socialist renewal.

OPALKA, RYBICKI, KLASA MEET WITH PARTY AKTIVS

LD041102 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Excerpt] A meeting of the party aktiv has been held at the metallurgical plant in the Bochnia Lenin foundry, with the participation of Stanislaw Opalka, Central Committee member and secretary of the voivoidship party committee in Tarnow; and Zbigniew Rybicki, head of the Chancery in the Central Committee [Secretariat]. Questions put to them concerned, among other things, the responsibility of former party and state leaders for the present tragic socioeconomic situation and the preparations for the ninth party congress.

A party meeting held at the Fioma mining machinery factory at Piotrkow Trybunalski was attended by Zbigniew Zielinski, member of the Central Committee Secretariat and director of the PZPR Heavy Industry, Transport and Building Department. Discussion centered mainly around innerparty democracy and resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. It was stressed that, in some respects, the results of the plenum failed to meet the expectations of party members. However, as Zbigniew Zielinski said, the plenum convened in an exceptional sociopolitical situation, with considerable social tension, and this, perhaps, is why it created so much controversy. He also thinks that Stefan Bratkowski's letter has some factual foundations and, in his opinion, the author should address the letter to the PZPR Central Committee.

Director of the PZPR Press, Radio and Television Department Jozef Klasa participated at a meeting of the party aktiv at the Lenin steelworks. In reply to numerous questions he said, among other things, that the party and government are aware of certain propaganda deviations and shortcomings in the availability of information for the broad masses. Far-reaching changes in the state of affairs are very difficult. A longstanding tradition of concealment of facts [words indistinct] journalists' problems in obtaining and verifying news. Both the basic party organization and leadership as well as Solidarity and the entire community are not entirely satisfied with the functioning of radio, television and the press.

WYSYZNSKI MEETS SD CENTRAL COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN

LD032058 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] The primate of Poland, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, met with the chairman of the SD Central Committee, Professor Edward Kowalczyk.

During the meeting the chairman of the SD Central Committee informed the primate about the attitude of his party, expressed in the documents of the 12th party congress, toward the Roman Catholic Church.

The primate and the chairman spoke about their deep anxiety over the political situation in the country. They spoke in favor of the imperative need to maintain social calm in Poland, for actions aimed at the raising of the level of ethics and morals in the nation and for the solving of all social conflicts through negotiations on the platform of legality, prudence and the sense of responsibility for the future of Poland and Poles.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY CALLS FOR STARTING 90-DAY COUNT OVER

LD060932 Warsaw PAP in English 0820 GMT 6 Apr 81

[From the press review]

[Text] ZYCIE WARSZAWY deplored that the report on the state of Poland's economy, work on which has been going on for a long time now, has not been published yet.

"We must not live merely fighting off the problems of today, we must also search for ways out in the near and more distant future" the daily wrote.

"In order to go beyond the most pressing, burning issues of the day, we must have a minimum of peace, at least some freedom of movement. We must have a minimum of peace to break free of the spiral leading to an economic crash.

"That is why it is so important that we have 90 peaceful days, that we start counting them all over from the latest agreement between the government and Solidarity. This peace is necessary for normal work and production and for reflection about the future, so that tasks and methods of action can be defined.

"It must be active peace, filled with accelerated, but prudent activity, without the chronic setbacks and delays. Every peaceful day filled with work is precious", ZYCIE WARSZAWY concluded.

ZYCIE WARSAWY URGES PRE-CONGRESS DEBATE ON ISSUES

LD041550 Warsaw PAP in English 1408 GMT 4 Apr 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Apr (PAP)--ZYCIE WARSZAWY's Ludwik Krasucki wrote today that "whether the 9th PUWP Congress will be successful or not, depends on us, on the party. It depends on the wisdom, energy and efficiency of the party leadership and party bodies, on appropriate use of the immense grassroot activeness, on the direct and sincere contacts between the leadership and worker base, on relations free from unnecessary middlemen and distortions of information.

"Instead of intensifying disputes, we should first and foremost make use of the pre-congress debate and profoundly discuss all the issues.

"Has there authorization been given [as received] in the party to the new manifestations of grassroot movement--the horizontal structures, the willingness to comment on Central Committee in resolutions of the base organizations, their debates seeking a common standpoint on the topical issues? I think it has.

Firstly, such are facts of life, and these facts are hard. Secondly, in the era of rising from the crisis every form of resuscitated activeness, everything that stimulates the party must be judged as valuable. Most depends on maturity of the comrades who are getting directly engaged in these new forms.

"The removal of some points of dispute between the 'top' and the 'base', due to the 9th plenary meeting, should lead to eliminating those points which still exist. This may be done in a discussion geared up to the tasks of today and tomorrow and paving the way to considerable intensification of party actions. In the striving for imposed discipline, the chance for victory of the desired and conscious discipline must not be wasted," stated Ludwik Krasucki in ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

POLL REVEALS 80 PERCENT DO NOT PERCEIVE RENEWAL

LD022110 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Interview by unidentified reporter of Zbigniew Kania, director of the public opinion survey center of Poland's Radio and Television Committee, regarding the poll on Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski's government and program; time and place not given--recorded]

[Text] [Passage indistinct]

[Answer] [Words indistinct] apart from that the poll had other important tasks: Among other things it tested the feeling of the community toward the process of renewal in our country.

[Question] How do people see (?the renewal)?

[Answer] A majority believes that the renewal is either not felt at all or is felt only to a slight degree.

[Question] Do you have data to support this?

[Answer] Yes, I have exact percentages [words indistinct] speaking in general one-fifth of our society believes that the process of renewal is clearly seen in our country and nearly four-fifths says that it is not seen at all or very little. This is the first important piece of information which came out of the poll and which was (?not included) in a short communique. Another essential piece of information concerns evaluation of the relations bwetween the authorities and Solidarity. On 2 and 3 March over half of our society, 51 percent to be precise, evaluated these relations between the government and Solidarity as bad. Probably our poll would look different if taken on 19 March or before the signing of the agreement or now. We shall find out about this in 2 weeks' time. [Presumably another poll is to be carried out.]

We asked people to choose from the 10 points [of the government program] the 3 which are most important. These were chosen in the following order: first, the matter of improving the food supply and its just distribution [words indistinct] 88 percent of the community chose this as the most important point. Further, in order to decreasing significance: stopping the fall in agricultural production, better prices control, struggle against speculating, and introducing more justice into shaping of people's incomes. These four points were considered to be the most important. [passage indistinct] There are matters which are put forward by the majority of the community which are not included in the 10-point government program, mainly two: [words indistinct] informing the community about what is going on in our country and secondly the question of punishing persons who abused their posts and who made erroneous economic decisions. [passage indistinct]

The broad acceptance of the change of premiership resulted from the critical view about the previous government and the hopes that the new government would be a better government. Also, hopes were directly linked with the person of General Jaruzelski.

I quote: One can see that people trust him; he speaks less and she does more; he is a general--perhaps he will have better discipline and more authority. I believe he will bring our country out of the crisis. He will no doubt do away with (?corruption). So you have various kinds of opinions based on the hope that this government will be a better and more efficient government which will listen more to the community and will implement the process of renewal quicker.

HISTORIAN ON DURABILITY OF PZPR-SOLIDARITY COMPROMISE

LD030953 Paris LE MONDE in French 1 Apr 81 p 6

[Article by Polish historian and philosopher Krzysztof Pomian: "A New Compromise Which Does Not Guarantee the Future"]

[Text] The PZPR is not really a workers party and is less united than ever. However, until there is evidence to the contrary, it remains Polish. The fact that it has confirmed this after a period in which all the signs suggested that it was not, constitutes the real event of that very long Sunday when the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum tried to define the policy to be followed.

This confirmation--a point which deserves to be stressed--was largely imposed by the workers' representatives at the Central Committee meeting who rejected the role of silent onlookers which they usually have and who were able to speak in realistic terms. Of course they were not the only ones to do that, but all the indications are that their voices weighed more heavily in the scales than those of the others.

With a majority opposed to a policy of confrontation with Solidarity, in other words with almost all Poles, the plenum made possible a new compromise between the trade union representatives and the government signed at the 11th hour on Monday which amounts to a reaffirmation of the Gdansk agreements. Now it was precisely the Gdansk agreements and hence Solidarity's very existence which were really at stake in the latest conflict, although the official side always claimed it was not. The authorities' statements could not in fact inspire any confidence while most of the main demands connected with the 21 points of the Gdansk agreements had still not been met and while there was good reason to think that the government was stalling, counting on weariness, real or imaginary internal quarrels, the fear of a Soviet intervention and the threat of famine.

In such a climate the Bydgoszcz incident, serious in itself, could only be seen as the start of an operation aimed at destroying Solidarity. The reaction was bound to be in proportion to the threat.

The long communique signed jointly by the government and the Solidarity representatives and the postponement of the indefinite general strike which was to start Tuesday ended the most dangerous crisis which Poland has experienced since 31 August 1980. Never had things been so close to an open confrontation liable to result in bloodshed, which would eventually have brought about a Soviet intervention. But this crisis, the result of a policy which has led to successive blunders and provocations over 7 months, will have repercussions which will be difficult to overcome quickly since it has produced a marked radicalization among the worker grassroots.

It is true that it takes two to reach a compromise and that, despite the government's avowed desire to ensure that a conflict can never again lead the country to the brink of disaster, we cannot expect Poland's only difficulties to be economic ones or that there will be a joint effort to overcome them. Then there is the ever-present Soviet threat. The country's supreme leadership remains the same and, since the same causes produce the same effects, there is reason to fear that the advocates of a strategy of tension might become active again. It is too early to say whether the latest PZPR plenum will produce a lasting change in Poland's political climate or whether it has merely delayed the hour of reckoning.

BYDGOSZCZ MKZ 'CONDITIONALLY' LIFTS STRIKE ALERT

LD031548 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] The Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] of the NSZZ Solidarity held a plenum in Bydgoszcz today. After a discussion lasting several hours it was decided to conditionally suspend the strike alert in the Bydgoszcz region.

A condition for suspending the strike alert is the implementation of the decisions of the joint declaration of the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity and of the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs, and the implementation of the remaining demands made on 20 March by the Bydgoszcz MKZ. The final decision on the suspension or the imposition of the strike alert will be made on 15 April.

According to Krzysztof Gotowski, the deputy chairman of the Bydgoszcz MKZ, who spoke to a reporter of Polish radio, Solidarity does not want to threaten a strike but demands the implementation of its demands.

In (Gotowski's) opinion, the conditional suspension of the strike alert is an expression of the willingness to talk, not from a position of strength, but from a partnership position.

Bydgoszcz MKZ Resolution

LD032134 Warsaw PAP in English 2020 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Apr (PAP)--The "Solidarnosc" meeting at Bydgoszcz today was devoted to a review of the situation in the Bydogszcz Voivodship and adoption of decision on strike readiness.

The resolution passed by the meeting says:

"The Solidarnosc Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] in Bydgoszcz has decided temporarily to lift strike readiness in the Bydgoszcz region. The condition for the full calling off of strike readiness is fulfilment of the provisions contained in the joint declaration of 'Solidarnosc' and the council of Ministers' Commission for Trade Unions, as well as implementation of the outstanding postulates put forth by the Interfactory Founding Committee on March 20.

"The decision on either a calling off of strike readiness or of its restoration in the Bydgoszcz region will be taken by the Interfactory Founding Committee on April 15."

Commenting on the resolution, "Solidarnosc" representative in Bydgoszcz stated: "We do not want to threaten a strike, but we demand implementation of postulates which will be dealt with on a working commission appointed by the National Consultative Commission jointly with the Bydgoszcz Interfactory Founding Commission, for this is not just a question of Bydgoszcz. Our concern is for the security of 'Solidarnosc' members."

AFP on Meeting

NC031439 Paris AFP in English 1425 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Apr (AFP)--Trade union leaders at Bydgoszcz--scene of the clashes with police which sparked off the latest crisis--today decided to lift their "state of strike preparedness" until April 15.

The Bydgoszcz area was the only one still on the alert following the decision by the trade union Solidarity to call off a threatened general strike earlier this week.

Local sources said that Solidarity's Bydgoszcz branch voted by 34 votes to suspend the state of strike preparedness against 27 who wanted it cancelled altogether, two who wanted it maintained and three who abstained.

The sources said that the alert would only be cancelled if the government met in full the demands of the union, including the dismissal of Vice-Premier Stanislaw Mach and the Bydgoszcz police chief.

The agreement in principle of last Monday between Solidarity and the government only satisfied 30 percent of the union's demands, the sources said.

GOVERNMENT, FARMERS BEGIN TALKS IN BYDGOSZCZ

LD031550 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] The government commission, led by First Vice Minister of Agriculture Andrzej Kacala, has arrived in Bydgoszcz to hold talks with the striking farmers.

According to information from our colleagues in Bydgoszcz, talks began an hour ago.

Farmers Submit Demands

LD032312 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Talks began this afternoon in the Bydgoszcz Voivodship United Peasant Party Committee building between the government commission under the chairmanship of Andrzej Kacala, vice minister of agriculture, and representatives of farmers taking part in the sit-in strike under the chairmanship of Roman Bartoszcak.

The farmers submitted a list of demands containing six points, the most important of which is the matter of registering NSZZ of Individual Farmers. During a discussion lasting many hours the self-government of agricultural circles was touched on and the so-called draft social law on self-governed organizations of individual farmers drawn up by Solidarity experts was submitted. Prof (Andrzrej Demachowski) from Warsaw University presented the legal aspects of registering the NSZZ of Individual Farmers. It was decided to exclude matters pertaining to the activity of agricultural circles from the issues to be dealt with in the talks.

Talks Postponed to 14 Apr

LD041816 Warsaw PAP in English 1702 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Apr (PAP)--TRYBUNA LUDU brought today an account of talks between the government team, headed by Vice-Minister of Farming Andrzej Kacala, and representatives of striking farmers, headed by Chairman of the Strike Committee Presidium Roman Bartoszczak, which were inaugurated in Bydgoszcz yesterday. The daily reported:

The farmers presented to the government team a six-point package of demands. The sides discussed in detail the hitherto implementation of the Rzeszow-Ustrzyki agreement and exchanged views on the function and tasks of farming circles.

The farmers questioned the pace and scope of the implementation of some points of the Rzeszow-Ustrzyki agreement.

In response to these charges, Minister Kacala explained that considering the short period of time that had elapsed since the conclusion of the agreement, the government managed to settle many of the postulated issues. He stressed in particular that under the resolution of the Council of Minister's binding at present self-government expresses its opinion on land turnover which creates a possibility of forming bigger farms, their size limit being determined only by agrarian reform act. [sentence as received] Minister Kacala also told the farmers that legislation was being drafted currently concerning arable lands protection, prevention of taking over arable lands for non-farming purposes and other important issues. Minister Kacala also acquainted the farmers with a proposal of new agricultural produce purchasing prices.

As far as the issue of farming circles is concerned the farmers have questioned the idea of combining economic and service functions with social and trade ones, charged that authorities elected by the 7th congress of the farming circles delegates were not the representation of all farmers and demanded registration of a "Solidarnosc" trade union of individual farmers.

Minister Kacala explained that under the present regulations the government had no powers to meet this postulate.

The talks were suspended this morning until April 14.

SEJM COMMISSION MEETS, DISCUSSES FARMERS UNION

LD032146 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] The extraordinary commission set up to supervise the implementation of the accords concluded in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie met in the Sejm building under the chairmanship of deputy Szczepanski. The deputies--members of the commission--agreed that the most urgent task was to find a legal formula to solve the conflict surrounding the organization and registration of a trade union of individual farmers. As the deputies stressed, this is one of the most explosive social problems, which affects the food situation in the country. The matter is all the more urgent because a team has been sent by the government to Bydgoszcz for the purpose of negotiations with farmers participating in the protest action.

The commission cannot passively wait for the results of government's dealings in Bydgoszcz; it must show its own initiative in this field and find a formula acceptable to both sides. The credibility and the prestige of the commission and the whole Sejm depend on that. A working party has been set up under the chairmanship of Deputy Szczepanski to deal with the issue of the association of individual farmers. It was found that the most urgent long-term tasks were a general assessment of the consequences of the accords so far concluded, the commencement on work of an overall agreement with the participation of the representatives of NSZZ Solidarity and other trade unions, as well as an analysis of the [word indistinct] work carried out so far with a view to providing constitutional guarantees for the process of renewal. The next meeting of the commission will probably take place next Tuesday.

WYSZYNSKI SUPPORTS INDEPENDENT FARMERS UNION

LD031434 Vatican City in English to Central and West Europe 1345 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] And now for a news item from Poland: The legal recognition of the independent and self-government Trade Union of Individual Farmers in Poland was called for by Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, during a meeting that the Polish primate had yesterday in Warsaw with the members of the presidency of the associations' organizing national committee. This was announced today by a communique issued by the press office of the Polish Episcopate.

After emphasizing that the human person possesses the natural right to associate with others in social organizations, and those of professional categories, Cardinal Wyszynski asserted that this right does not derive from a concession by the state authorities, but that the state, which is at the service of the fundamental values of the person, has the obligation to create the legal conditions under which such organizations can operate.

If the Polish state authorities have recognized the right to the setting up of independent and self-governed workers' trade unions, the Polish primate pointed out, the need to recognize the same right for individual farmers naturally follows. He added that this right is further confirmed by the fact that the farmers are the owners of the land and that social obligations and commitments are encumbent on their property and the work of national development. The regulation of the legal status of the independent farmers' union would also, he said, contribute to the overcoming of the agricultural crisis and the crisis of confidence between the authorities and society.

PASTORAL ANNOUNCEMENT CITES WYSZYNSKI ON RURAL TU

LD051144 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Pastoral announcements from holy mass celebrated by Father Stefan Gwiazdowski at Church of the Holy Cross at Ulica Krakowskie Przedmiescie, Warsaw--live relay]

[Excerpt] 1. The holy father, John Paul II, before the public recitation of the angelus, asked the large gathering for prayers with intentions for Poland.

Today, he said, I ask for prayers with intentions for my fatherland, Poland. Let us pray that the difficulties and the internal tensions will be overcome in the spirit of the agreements signed by both sides, by representatives of the state authorities and by the independent trade unions. The church is praying for this unceasingly. It is praying for peace and offering intentions for all the initiatives which may contribute to security, peace in Europe and in the whole world.

2. Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, the primate of Poland, last Thursday, 2 April, received the presidium of the all-Poland Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers.

In his speech, he said, in parts: Dear brothers, you must thoroughly, very thoroughly, acquaint yourselves with the documents that defend man's basic rights. The collectivist authorities [wladze kolekty-wistyczne] seem to think that they are man's benefactors. No, they are not. It is the creator of human nature [who is the benefactor].

The state, sometimes on its own initiative, from commonsense, or, if I may say so, under pressure and through necessity--as it has happened in our country--agrees to grant these rights to the human individual. Following this line, the state authorities have agreed that industrial workers associated in Solidarity are free to carry on their activities. That is what has happened in Gdansk and in other parts of Poland.

It is unlikely that this was a philosophical decision. Quite clearly, this was a political necessity.

For Catholics, today and tomorrow, and in every kind of system, the fundamental argument is this: Man, by the nature of things, by his vocation and circumstances, possesses these rights.

This was Solidarity's spring. I have used this argument in my talks with the political authorities, when the problem of Solidarity Trade Union for Private Farmers arose. I used the argument: Since you have granted industrial workers the right to organize themselves, to create trade unions, then when you have said 'A', you now have to say 'Z', that is, you have to recognize the fact that farmers are people of the same spiritual makeup, of the same eschatological nature. That is why they must be granted the same rights.

There is room here for an additional argument: Farmers are owners of a part of our fatherland's soil, for which they are socially responsible, because the soil serves not only those who till it to feed the nation, but also their families.

Taking account of these so very important tasks and duties, the rights of private farmers to ownership must be recognized and the nation must help them to fulfill their duties.

Such a solution to the problem stems from the principles of Catholic social sciences.

POPE JOHN PAUL II REMARKS ON SITUATION CITED

LD051328 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Text] John Paul II, addressing 100,000 pilgrims gathered today at Saint Peter's Square, spoke once again about Poland's right to settle her internal problems herself.

All countries which truly love peace, in conformity with the fundamental principles for international cooperation, believe, the pope said, that this right will be fully respected, because this concerns matters which are linked with the dignity of man's work, which therefore should be solved only through peaceful means.

SOLIDARITY CLASHES FALL SHORT OF 'REAL SPLIT'

LD031538 Paris LE MONDE in French 3 Apr 81 p 8

[Bernard Guetta dispatch: "For the First Time the Solidarity Trade Union Questions Mr Walesa's Supreme Authority"]

[Text] Gdansk--After publicly ratifying the cancellation of the general strike call in the evening of Tuesday 31 March the Solidarity National Consultative Commission [KKP] washed its dirty linen in private, in other words behind closed doors, on Wednesday evening. The malaise created by the fact that the decision to "suspend" the strike was taken by just a few men--Mr Walesa and the trade union experts--led the Solidarity KKP members to reexamine the way in which their movement's executive functions.

This meeting, during which the political soundness of the suspension decision was not really disputed, marks a turning point in Solidarity's life. Indeed, for the first time Mr Walesa's supreme authority was questioned with a force equal to his national and international prestige. Despite the brutality of some particularly cutting exchanges, the descussions remained orderly. A real split would be a luxury which Solidarity cannot afford and everybody was sufficiently aware of that to know just how far they could go.

Proposals for the future, therefore finally prevailed over criticism of the past. The next KKP meeting is to examine and formulate several proposals, some rather naive, aimed at ensuring the collegial and "open" nature of the decisions taken. One proposal--"nobody should take decisions alone"--is aimed directly at Mr Walesa. The others are aimed at redefining and limiting the position held by Solidarity's experts. These men, who are better armed intellectually and politically than the trade union officials newly molded by the strikes, had been led--to the advantage of the trade union and Poland in many difficult situations--to play a decisive role in the negotiations with the government for which they, in fact, finally took responsibility (note 1). (These experts, who are increasingly criticized in the other Warsaw Pact capitals, were praised by Mr Rakowski on Wednesday. The deputy premier said that their role is "positive" because they are "better prepared for negotiations" and work "as hard as possible to find compromise solutions").

The "Symbol of Unity"

The trade union cadres have now been trained, have begun to grow accustomed to political mechanisms and are now much less willing to delegate their powers to their advisers. If the proposals made were accepted by the next KKP meeting, the experts would no longer have the right to speak during negotiations with the authorities without having been expressly asked to do so by the trade union negotiators themselves, and above all would not have the right to semiofficial contacts with the government. The current use of these "prenegotiations," although disputable as a principle, facilitated the settlement of many thorny questions, and efficiency is likely to suffer from the democracy in whose name it has also been requested that it not always be the same trade union leaders who are always given responsibility for contacts with the government.

During this meeting Solidarity spokesman Karol Modzelewski, who is the trade union's Wroclaw regional leader, tendered his resignation, criticizing the way in which the trade union executive functions--which, he said, he can no longer support. "The trade union," he said, "is beginning to look like a feudal organization. There is a king, a court and a parliament which just acts as an extra." Mr Modzelewski, a man with extremely strict ethics whose relations with Mr Walesa are notoriously bad, protested strongly at the fact that the trade union chairman opposed the convening of the KKP on Monday before announcing that the strike was being suspended.

But he took care to explain that it was necessary to accept this "rather unedifying" compromise owing to the country's situation. "I think it would be suicidal to attack Mr Walesa and I do not say that out of sympathy for him but because he is the symbol of our trade union's unity," he added. The Warsaw trade union chairman protested against the "monopoly" which the Gdansk trade union has over Solidarity. Poznan Chairman Dymarski put it even more strongly: "Solidarity," he said, "has become a different trade union from the one we joined in September. We already have our 'antisocialist forces.' There is talk of a mysterious plot and paranoia is beginning to prevail." Mr Dymarski spoke of "manipulations" and expressed the view that "antidemocratic practices, encouraged by Mr Walesa's paranoid behavior, are beginning to prevail in the trade union." Mr Walesa replied by accusing Mr Dymarski of paranoia and the incident went no further. Mr Gwiazda, one of the "historical" leaders of the Gdansk strike, also tendered his resignation, explaining that he could not accept the way in which the strike had been suspended on Monday. But unlike Mr Modzelewski's resignation, which Mr Walesa immediately accepted, this resignation was rejected by the KKP at the Gdansk trade union's express request. The main victim of this meeting, finally, was Mr Celinski, the young KKP secretary who is close to Mr Walesa and who was used as a scapegoat, with the delegates systematically refusing to allow him to chair the meeting and making it clear to him that he had become undesirable.

Mrs Walentynowicz, the worker at the Lenin Shipyards whose firing sparked off the August strike and whose relations with Mr Walesa have been very stormy since September, was placed in a bad position by the shipyard workers, who decided to withdraw her mandate as a Gdansk trade union delegate. That decision immediately sparked off a storm of protest and could shortly be reviewed.

TRYBUNA LUDU VIEWS ATTEMPT ON REAGAN'S LIFE

AU031850 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Apr 81 p 7

["M.B." commentary: "A Drama That Keeps Repeating Itself"]

[Text] The attempt on President Reagan's life was a sign that the nightmare, which America cannot get rid of, is alive again. Unfortunately, it is only too often that attempts on the lives of the U.S. leaders are repeated, and this is why one cannot regard this latest dramatic event in Washington as an absolutely exceptional event.

During the lifetime of a single generation of Americans--there is no need to refer to older events--President John Kennedy was assassinated, Nixon's life was threatened twice, Ford was shot at twice and all the Presidents received innumerable threats. Assassins' bullets also hit other outstanding Americans--Senator Robert Kennedy and Negro leader Martin Luther King.

So far the Americans have not found a satisfactory answer to the question they keep asking themselves: Why is American political life afflicted by such extremely violent deeds? At a moment such as this, when wrath is mounting against the perpetrator of the attempt, demands keep increasing that purchasing and using guns should be curbed. However, such demands rapidly deflate and America keeps its private arsenal: 50 million pistols and 180 million rifles.

Because of the great power entrusted to him by the constitution, and because he stays in the center of domestic and world events day in and day out, the U.S. President attracts the attention of many Americans, including potential criminals--psychopaths, human wrecks and, perhaps, conspirators.

We express profound regret over the attempt on President Reagan's life and over the wound that he has suffered, and we are sincerely pleased with the news that he is recovering well. Terrorist actions and deeds, which in any case violate the code of civilized life, are to be especially condemned in a world of strong tensions.

REPORTAGE ON JAGIELSKI VISIT TO UNITED STATES

White House Talks 'Fruitful'

LD031638 Warsaw PAP in English 1408 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Apr (PAP)--By PAP correspondent Stanislaw Glabinski:

Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski, now on a visit in Washington, held talks yesterday with Vice-President George Bush, temporarily deputizing for President Reagan. Bush was accompanied by members of the cabinet: Secretary of State Alexander Haig, Secretary of the Treasury D. Regan and Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige.

The White House talks lasted for about an hour. Afterwards Jagielski and Bush met with journalists.

Vice-President Bush said that the U.S. wanted to maintain the best possible relations with Poland based on the principles of mutual respect, reciprocity and noninterference into the internal affairs of each side.

Bush said that the U.S. welcomed the announcement of economic reforms to take place in Poland, hoping that they would help solve the problems facing Poland. The American Government and public opinion are watching with concern and understanding the economic problems that Poland is going through. The administration confirms its readiness to collaborate in the solving of our problems. Considered are low-price sales of surplus agricultural produce to Poland and, at Poland's request, the sales of powdered milk and butter. Vice-President Bush expressed his conviction that appropriate agreement would be reached on this and other issues.

Vice-Premier Jagielski, in turn, confirmed that the talks at the White House had been interesting, fruitful and profitable. He himself had a chance to present our country's weighty economic problems and outline the measures that would be taken with an eye to solving them.

On behalf of state authorities, Jagielski stressed that the Polish Government was determined to continue the process of socialist renewal and solve all problems exclusively by way of political action. We expect that the U.S. too will grant us economic aid. However, Jagielski stressed that "we are fully aware that we have to solve the essential problems through our own effort, our own work, efficiency, and restoration of order and discipline."

Yesterday morning Jagielski visited the Department of State, where he met with Secretary of State Haig. He spent another couple of hours on talks with U.S. Secretary of Commerce Baldrige.

Results of Talks Reported

LD041550 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Text] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski is about to end his visit in the capital of the United States. During his stay in Washington he met representatives of the highest level of the Republican [words indistinct]. He also had talks on Capitol Hill which thoroughly reviewed Polish-American relations. In the course of his talks the deputy premier described the current situation in Poland, especially economic, presenting ways through which we intend to solve the troubles of our country.

The practical, concrete and immediate effect of the talks was the offer of the United States to help Poland in the form of supplies of 30,000 tons of powdered milk and 30,000 tons of butter, to be paid in Zlotys at prices lower than those on the world market.

The American Government also promised to examine soon, if possible, our postulates for credits. Poland hopes to get a loan from the United States, an emergency loan amounting to $200 million, to be used for the purchase in the United States of consumer cereals and fodder cereals.

Thirdly, Washington promised that during the international talks to be held next week in Paris on the subject of restoring Poland's ability to repay credits obtained in recent years, the American delegation, which will be participating in the talks, will adopt a favorable attitude toward us.

I must say that in recent days the American press, and also television, politicians and journalists who are acquainted with the situation in Poland, have appealed to the Washington government for quicker and greater help for our country. On the other hand, voices were heard saying Reagan's administration has come to power under the slogan of far-reaching economies, limiting expenditure including aid for abroad.

Let us hope that (?one way or another) the United States Government and local credit institutions will opt for the choice that is most beneficial to Poland.

Visit Ends

LD041758 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Maciej Slotwinski New York despatch]

[Text] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski is on his way home after 2 days of intensive negotiations at the highest level in Washington, both with the administration and in Congress. He presented the current situation in Poland, as well as its ramifications in relation to Europe as a whole and the world at large. He described the courses of action that have been adopted aimed at bringing about an improvement in the country's economic situation. He emphasized that we know we can eliminate the present crisis, above all by our own more intensive work, increased discipline, calm and order. However, he added we would rely to a considerable extent also on the help of our friends.

Deputy Premier Jagielski's visit to Washington has resulted in an announcement about the sale to Poland--for zlotys--of a substantial quantity of butter and dried milk. A promise has also been secured that early consideration will be given to our request for a further credit of $200 million to purchase from the United States cereals for human consumption and for animal feeding. The U.S. Government has also adopted a favorable attitude to the idea of Poland postponing its repayment of previous credits. This attitude will also be taken by the U.S. Government during the international meeting on the subject, scheduled for Paris next week.

During the 2-day visit to Washington, Deputy Premier Jagielski also met Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige, with whom he shares the chairmanship of the Polish-American Commission on Commerce. It was agreed the next session of this commission should be held toward the end of this year, and that before that time work should be started by special working parties dealing with agriculture, housing, cooperatives and commerce.

FORGED U.S. CURRENCY BEING INVESTIGATED BY MILITIA

LD060740 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Forged $100 bills have appeared in Jelenia Gora Voivodship and in other parts of the country. Investigation about persons belonging, most likely, to a criminal group operating on a regional scale is being conducted by the headquarters of civic militia in Jelenia Gora. So far four suspects have been arrested. During the search one of them was in possession of 26 $100 notes.

TRADE UNION CONGRESS OPENS IN BUCHAREST 6 APR

AU060852 [Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 0556 GMT on 6 April 1981 carries a live relay on the opening session in Bucharest of the Congress of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions. The congress is attended by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, Comrade Elena Ceausescu and "other comrades from the party-state leadership." It is opened by Trade Union Chairman Cornel Onescu, who greets the participants, states the purpose of the congress and conducts a vote on:

"--the congress working bodies;
"--number and composition of the presidium;
"--number and composition of the validation commission;
"--number and composition of the secretariat;
"--number and composition of the drafting commission for the congress draft decision and resolution;
"--composition and presidiums of the seven sections in which the congress will proceed;
"--agenda, including the following points:
"A. Report of the Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions on the activity carried out since the preceding congress, and trade union tasks in implementing the 12th RCP Congress decisions;
"B. Report of the Central Auditing Commission;
"C. Proposals on certain completions and modfications to trade union statutes;
"D. Election of the Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions and the Central Auditing Commission."

Cornel Onescu then conducts a vote on the regulations of the congress proceedings, which are unanimously adopted.

Nicolae Ceausescu takes the floor at 0612 GMT. At the beginning he deals with the role, mission and tasks of trade unions in Romanian society. His speech also deals with general economic achievements recorded over the past 10 years; with tasks and improvements necessary in this respect; and briefly with international matters in general terms, stressing the role of trade unions internationally. Ceausescu ends his speech at 0738 GMT.

After Onescu announces that the plenary session will take a 30-minute break, the live relay ends at 0741 GMT.

CEAUSESCU, VERDET GREET HUNGARIAN LEADERS

AU041420 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0908 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Apr (AGERPRES)--Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, sent a congratulatory telegram to Janos Kadar, Pal Losonczi and Gyorgy Lazar, on the 36th anniversary of Hungary's liberation. The telegram reads among other things:

We express our satisfaction at and are highly appreciative of the ascending course of the traditional relations of friendship and collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Hungarian People's Republic. We are convinced that, further acting together in the spirit of the top level understandings, of the principles enshrined in the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance and in the other bilateral documents, the Romanian-Hungarian relations will witness, in the future too, steady development in all domains, in the interests of the Romanian and Hungarian peoples, of the cause of socialism, independence, peace and international cooperation.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON PRISTINA DISTURBANCES

DPA Reports Dead, Injured

LD031829 Hamburg DPA in German 1713 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Pristina, 3 Apr (DPA)--During the unrest in Pristina, the capital of the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo, two students were killed and 30 injured--some seriously--on Wednesday. This was learned from a reliable source on Friday. About 10,000 took part in the demonstrations, which were condemned by the official side as Albanian nationalism. Those taking part are said to have carried guns and to have fired them into the air.

AFP Cites Casualties

NC031747 Paris AFP in English 1725 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 3 Apr (AFP)--Two demonstrators were killed and two policemen wounded Wednesday in violent clashes in the Kosovo autonomous region of Yugoslavia, an informed source said here today. It was not known how many demonstrators were hurt or arrested.

Meanwhile, the government and Communist Party today held high-level meetings as the strife torn, largely Albanian Kosovo region was cut off from the rest of the country and placed under emergency rule.

Foreign journalists were denied access to the region, where the initial unrest was reportedly caused by poor food and living conditions among students. All roads into the regional capital of Pristina were controlled by troops, National Guard and police, backed up by armored vehicles. Officials said journalists' "safety could not be guaranteed."

AFP: Press Barred

NC031345 Paris AFP in English 1335 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Excerpt] Pristina, southern Yugoslavia, 3 Apr (AFP)--The Kosovo autonomous region of Yugoslavia was cut off from the rest of the country today and foreign journalists were barred as a state of emergency continued following violent clashes between police and members of the mainly Albanian population.

All roads into the regional capital of Pristina were controlled by troops, National Guard and police, backed up by armoured vehicles. Foreign journalists, including an AFP correspondent, were asked to leave because "their safety could not be guaranteed", officials said. The journalists were escorted to the region's border through villages guarded by security forces, though no sign of trouble was evident.

An official sources said that all teaching establishments throughout the region had been closed until further notice following the riots which have grown steadily worse since the beginning of last month.

Curfew Imposed

AU032056 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Because of circumstances in which the public order and peace are threatened, and in which the lives of people and social property are threatened by groups and individuals who have hostile inclinations, the secretary of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo has issued the following order:

On the territories of the communes of Pristina, Rodujevo, Lipljan, Vucitrn and Glogovac, the movement of citizens is restricted in the period between 2000 and 0500 in the morning. This order comes into effect immediately.

Life Returning to Normal

LD042030 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1946 GMT 4 Apr 81

["Life Almost Back to Normal"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Pristina, 4 Apr (TANJUG)--Last night's speech by Fadilj Hodza, member of the SFRY Presidency and member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has had a strong impact on the working people and citizens of the Province of Kosovo. The prevailing atmosphere, and conversations with the citizens of Pristina, confirm that Fadilj Hodza's speech hit the nail on the head, revealed the essence of the disturbances, and described them clearly. He said behind the groups of nationalists, chauvinists and irredentists who provoked the present events in Kosovo, there were foreign forces and those domestic forces which did not like the self-management, independent, and nonaligned Yugoslavia as a community of equal nations and nationalities. Fadilj Hodza's words describing this conduct as an attack on the Albanian nationality and all its achievements were also received favorably.

Life in the capital of Kosovo is almost back to normal. Glaziers and other craftsmen are removing the consequences of the vandalism which occurred 2 days ago, and production has started to revive. The Gazivode hydroelectric powerplant has been put into operation today together with a long-distance power line of 110kv. The powerplant, with its capacity of 34 mw, will annually produce 94.6 million kwh of electricity.

Workers Condemn Demonstrations

LD021850 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1723 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Text] Pristina, 2 Apr (TANJUG)--The communists of the "Trepca" lead and zinc smeltery at Kosovska Mitrovica today held a meeting from which they sent the following telegram to the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and to the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo:

"We communists of the 'Trepca' lead and zinc smeltery sharply condemn the hostile demonstrations and also express on this occasion our full readiness to struggle by all means against such and similar hostile actions. As always up to now, the communists of 'Trepca' also on this occasion firmly support the LCY's policy."

The communists and workers of the work organization "Metalikj" in Djakovica today held a meeting at which they sharply condemned the actions of hostile forces in the province. In a telegram to the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and to the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, the participants in the meeting expressed full support for the LCY's policy and measures adopted against the hostile activity, emphasizing their full readiness to defend the achievements of the revolution and our socialist self-managing development.

Further Worker Condemnation

LD051948 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1745 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Summary] Pristina, 5 Apr (TANJUG)--Miners in a number of Kosovo mines have exceeded their daily production plan and are excelling in mining output.

"Such working efforts and the liveliness in fields where spring sowing is in progress are only some of a series of details which show that life and work in places in Kosovo which were, in past days, the target of enemy actions, are gradually, but without interruption, entering more normal trends. The hurried work carried out to remove the consequences of primitive and destructive behavior also testifies to this. Thus, today, in Pristina's main street, a considerable number of broken shop windows were replaced. In other places in the province in which enemy actions had taken place, there are less and less of the most conspicuous traces of arrogant attacks on social property.

"Also in the province, in addition to all-round efforts to normalize the situation in every environment in which enemy actions disrupted the living and working rhythm, today, as in the past few days, has been marked above all by pronouncements of support by the working people, citizens and the young for measures taken to prevent counterrevolutionary actions and to the readiness to vigilantly safeguard and develop the achievements of the revolution and of socialist construction. This support and readiness are confirmed by the above-mentioned and other similar working successes, as well as at gatherings, at work places, in talks and by numerous telegrams to the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and to the Presidium of the provincial committee of the Kosovo League of Communists most energetically condemning the enemy actions directed against the equality, fraternity, unity and togetherness of the nations and nationalities of Socialist Yugoslavia."

Production Exceeds Norms

AU051925 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Text] The miners of the largest and best-known Trepca mine at Stari Trg yesterday dug about 2,800 tons of lead and zinc ore. The day's plan was thus exceeded by almost one-third. The miners of the Trepca mine at Kisnica are not lagging behind their comrades at Stari Trg: Last month they produced more than 25,000 tons of ore. The Dobro Selo and Belacevac open cast lignite mines were making efforts even today to provide the largest possible quantities of lignite for the Kosovo thermoelectric power stations. These work efforts, as well as life in the fields where spring farm work is being resumed, are only some of a number of similar details indicating that life and work are gradually but continuously returning to more normal currents in the places in Kosovo, which in the past few days were hit by hostile actions. This is also indicated by hurried work to eliminate the consequences of primitive and destructive behavior. In Pristina's main street, a considerable number of broken shop windows were repaired today. The most visible traces of the ruthless attacks on social property are getting fewer and fewer in other places in the province where hostile actions had taken place.

Workers' Buses Delayed

AU032048 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Text] Buses for workplaces will leave 1 hour later on Monday, 6 April, for the Ramiz Sadiki industrial combine construction workers from the communes of Kos Mitrovica, Vucitrn, Podujevo, Uroseva, Srbica, Glogovac, Klina, Pec and Lipljan.

LEADERS, OFFICIAL BODIES ON PRISTINA UNREST

LCY, Presidency 2 Apr Session

LD031534 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1417 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Apr (TANJUG)--The SFRY Presidency and LCY Central Committee Presidium held a joint session last night at which they considered the political security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The Presidency and the Presidium expressed their agreement with the appraisals made by the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium and by the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium to the effect that the actions disturbing peace and order and threatening social property, which took place in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, had been organized by hostile irredentist elements and represented an integral part of the intensified activity of external and internal enemies aimed at causing instability and endangering the territorial integrity of the SFRY. These actions are calculated to cause a confrontation between the Albanian people and the other nations and nationalities in Kosovo and Yugoslavia, whose brotherhood, unity and togetherness were created through their common struggle during the national liberation struggle, the socialist revolution and reconstruction; and also to undermine the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities, bring down the system of socialist self-management and discredit our nonaligned and socialist country in the world.

These actions, which started with social and demagogical slogans that deceived a certain number of young people, ended with open and hostile slogans of Albanian irredentism in which the breaking up of the SFRY was demanded. They have nothing in common with the true feelings of the vast majority of working people and citizens of Kosovo and the interests and aspirations of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins and members of other peoples in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The Presidency and the Presidium assessed as indispensable and justified the measures taken by the organs of government and sociopolitical organizations of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the Socialist Republic of Serbia in order to liquidate disorder and establish peace, order and normal life in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. The Presidency and the Presidium, together with the Federal Executive Council, adopted the necessary measures to the same end within the framework of their competence and constitutional responsibilities. The Presidency and the Presidium noted that the federal organs were localizing and suppressing disturbances successfully despite the existence of small provocative groups among the troublemakers who are trying to cause incidents and clashes by means of their aggressive behavior and brutal actions.

The Presidency and the Presidium extend full support to the comprehensive activity launched by the working class, working people and citizens, organs of government and all the organized political forces of Kosovo, headed by the League of Communists, with the aim of unmasking and preventing the activity of hostile elements and mobilizing working people and citizens to strive for the further unhindered development of the province on the basis of socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity, which is the conviction of all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

On this occasion, the Presidency and the Presidium again stress that the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia are united and uncompromising in defending the constitutional order, the territorial integrity of the SFRY and other gains of our revolution and that the working class and all the working people and citizens of our country are expressing their readiness to work with full self-denial and responsibility for the attainment of the goals of economic stabilization and the further strengthening of our self-managing socialist community.

More on LCY, Presidency

LD032302 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1916 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Apr (TANJUG)--Hostile irredentist elements stand behind the acts of violence against law and order and against socially-owned property in Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

This is a component part recently of an intensified and organized activity by external and internal enemies aimed at bringing about instability and endangering Yugoslavia's territorial integrity.

The Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Presidency of Yugoslavia evaluated in the above terms the demonstrations in Kosovo on March 11 and 25 and on April 1 at their joint session yesterday evening.

In chanting Albanian nationalist and other slogans, the hostile elements tried again to break law and order in Pristina, the capital of Kosovo, on April 1. The local sociopolitical organizations, social self-protection bodies and security officers undertook measures to prevent them from doing so.

Fadilj Hodza, member of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia emphasized today that these actions were organized by Yugoslavia's "internal and external enemies" at [words indistinct] of worsening international relations and various interferences in the [words indistinct] of other countries. "Obviously, it does not lie in the interests of some people that Yugoslavia be stable", he said today in Pristina, the capital of Kosovo.

"We know whose fingers are in the pie here", Fadilj Hodza also said. "A thing interesting in that nationalism and irredentism in Kosovo [words indistinct] of a kind of some dogmatic left-wing concepts which in no way differ from the hostile slogans in the period of Cominform's highest euphoria", he added. "However, regardless of who is [words indistinct] quasi-Marxist slogans, this is the doing of the vilest servants and agents of various spying centers and agencies", Fadilj Hodza said.

The Internal Policy Committee of the Assembly of Yugoslavia's Federal Chamber today supported the measures taken in the aim of curbing hostile actions in Kosovo.

Street demonstrations, disturbing of classes and [words indistinct] economic activity are sharply condemned throughout Yugoslavia. Numerous enterprises, including the largest working collectives of Kosovo, have been among the first to send telegrammes with expressions of support to measures taken to prevent demonstrations.

Hodza Addresses Pristina Aktiv

LD031736 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1537 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Pristina, 3 Apr (TANJUG)--Fadilj Hodza, member of the SFRY Presidency and member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, spoke today to the Political Aktiv of Pristina. In his speech, which was often interrupted by applause, Comrade Fadilj Hodza said:

I wish to immediately state clearly: The series of events which have taken place in recent days in Pristina and some other places in Kosovo represent a skillfully conceived act of a hostile nature. It is an act of counterrevolution. Student demonstrations and a number of other excesses were merely a pretext for the organized appearance of open enemies of self-managing socialist nonaligned Yugoslavia, who wish no good primarily to the Albanian people and to all the other nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. This is quite clear today.

This hostile action by internal and external enemies was organized at a time of general deterioration in the international situation, when relations between the great powers and between the blocs are deteriorating and various forms of interference in (the affairs of) other countries are being intensified.

By means of disturbances and nationalist outbursts they strive to represent Kosovo as a weak spot in the Yugoslav socialist community and federation, and thus create a crisis and give rise to dissatisfaction not only in Kosovo but also throughout Yugoslavia. Their aim is to bring down the political system of socialist self-management.

Here again we see the finger of counterrevolution trying, in the current international situation which is full of danger, to manipulate things in the SFRY and Kosovo and the world in order to create fresh anxiety and a new crisis flashpoint in the service of foreign interests.

The hostile elements are trying to deceive and lead astray a number of young people and others by means of false and demagogic slogans and, in essence, nationalist and chauvinist demands. The enemies want to destroy our brotherhood and unity, which was paid for in blood.

Kosovo is a free, equal member of the Yugoslav fraternal community and federation. In our country there are no, and there cannot be any, privileged nations. The destiny of Kosovo is in the hands of its working class, its working people and all its citizens. This status was won by Kosovo through the national liberation struggle and revolution together with all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

It is not unknown to us that our enemies always resort to the slogan "Kosovo--A Republic" when they are trying to attack our socialist system and when they are attacking our federal community. It is clear that these slogans come from a well-known hostile arsenal.

The enemies are attacking the unity of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks and others in Kosovo. In particular, they are trying to cause dissent between Albanians on the one hand and Serbs and Montenegrins on the other hand. Brotherhood and unity are an irreplaceable and never outdated fundamental achievement of our national liberation struggle and revolution. It is, after all, one of the highest human values in such a multinational community as ours. It is the basis of our total progress and all the results which we have achieved over the past four decades in the development of Yugoslavia and of all our nations and nationalities individually. Without togetherness we would never have achieved this.

In community with the Serbian people and other peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, the Albanian people have achieved a level of development never attained before in its history. Never since the name of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins and others has become known in this area have Kosovo and all its individual ethnic communities attained a more rapid and dynamic progress. Not only this, but I can say that I do not know of any other people which have--in such a short period--achieved such great progress as the Albanians in Kosovo. In a mere four decades we have overcome oppressive feudalism and an unseen cultural, and other, backwardness. Today, we Albanians have every possibility, like all other peoples of Yugoslavia, to develop and foster all values which make up our national identity.

All this was possible only on the basis of a consistent policy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and on the basis of clear LCY stances and Tito's policy of full national equality, togetherness, brotherhood and unity. What Kosovo is today and what it has could not have been achieved without the support and help of the Serbian people and without the whole-hearted help of the working class of Yugoslavia and all other peoples and nationalities.

Yugoslavia and its economy, as an integral part of the world economy, as a developing country, feels like most other countries the consequences of world developments and faces in its development the same or similar difficulties faced by most countries in the world.

Kosovo, as our entire social community, is also faced with certain difficulties in its development. These difficulties are not unknown to us but they cannot be solved by hooliganism, by destruction of our national wealth which all our working people created by their own hands, and by hostile and nationalist actions. They are solved by the efforts of organized socialist forces of all peoples and nationalities of Kosovo in the struggle for greater productivity and implementation of measures of economic stabilization, accompanied by full engagement of all subjective forces in the province--which are not negligible.

Our strength must be directed towards the fastest possible solution of social and other problems which we have, and towards the construction of projects which will employ the largest possible number of new young workers and experts of all kinds. This is the objective basis of our further development which has been adopted in all documents of political and social forums.

In a relatively short period of time, thanks to the understanding, solidarity and consistent policy of the LCY, Kosovo has achieved great progress in its socioeconomic transformation. The results are visible and they are the best answer to all those who are not thinking about this country and its working class, all those who do not believe in the strength and unity of our peoples and nationalities, all those skeptics and faint-hearted who are not choosy in their means to blacken our successes and who try to belittle our socialist self-managing system and the entire contribution and prestige of Yugoslavia in the world.

The agreements between the republics and provinces have ensured an important place and special treatment for Kosovo in the entire Yugoslav development in the forthcoming period. Large resources which our social community will allocate for the fastest possible development of the province of Kosovo, for its economic and all round social development, will ensure a still more favorable position for the province in the years ahead.

It is already known that in the forthcoming medium-term period Kosovo will be developing faster by about 60 percent as compared with the average development of the country. The resources available to the province will be considerably greater than hitherto. It is up to us to organize ourselves better.

The policy of faster development of insufficiently developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, as the source of common aspirations of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, is defined by the SFRY Constitution, the LCY program and the documents of the 11th LCY Congress. This policy represents the basic commitment of our community also in the forthcoming planning period.

As is known, in the forthcoming planning period, the resources which will be allocated for the fastest possible development of Kosovo will be considerably larger than up to now. The participation of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in the resources of the federation's fund has been increased from 30 to 43 percent. The instruments of the plan up to 1985 also envisage other resources which will be made available to Kosovo as special and supplementary means--just as it was up to now--except that these resources will be considerably larger compared with the past period. Other economic measures and facilities are also envisaged for the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

I do not want to outline here other economic, educational, cultural and other indicators about the development of Kosovo because they are well known to you.

All I will say is that it is not accidental that in spite of this comprehensive help from other republics and vojvodina to Kosovo, the enemies say that Kosovo is being exploited by others.

It is not surprising that the enemies should say this, but it is surprising that there are quite a number of naive people who unfortunately believe these lies. Would we be able--without such brotherly help from all peoples of Yugoslavia, the entire socialist community--to include in education almost every third inhabitant of our province, to bring electricity to all villages and to build so many modern houses and asphalt roads? How could we build a new modern industry in the province and form a new working class without the solidarity of our community?

The result of development which we are now especially proud of is above all the fact that a considerable working class has emerged in the province from the ranks of all peoples and nationalities of Kosovo and especially from the ranks of Albanians which is increasingly successfully mastering the most modern equipment and technology in production. At the same time, enormous progress has been made in the formation of intelligentsia from the ranks of all peoples and nationalities and especially numerous intelligentsia from the ranks of Albanians. Today we have doctors, engineers, professors, all kinds of scientists, economists, lawyers and all other professions who actively contribute to the economic and social development of the province. These social forces represent a solid cadre basis for still more successful and speedy development of Kosovo in the forthcoming planning period.

In the next 5 years, the federation's fund will put at the disposal of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo about 10,000 billion old dinars for the development of the economy and about 4,000 billion for the development of social services. These are enormous sums and considerable organizational, cadre and program preparations are needed to invest these funds as rationally as possible and to achieve the greatest possible economic and social effects.

We are aware that we must mobilize all our forces and rely on them still more persistently, and overcome with them our low level of development as soon as possible. While others make one step forward we need to make two, but this can be achieved only by a people like ours which has decided not to lag behind other countries of the world.

Investments which are to be made in the next 5 years in order to extend the material basis of education, culture and health in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo will achieve a considerable increase in the number of workers in all branches, students in all the schools, and in the number of radio subscribers, television subscribers, museums, theaters, cinemas, newspapers, magazines and books.

In the period up to 1985, 40,000 new apartments will be built.

The production of energy will rise at a high rate. The new thermal power stations Kosovo 6 and Kosovo 7, each of 339 mw, will be put into operation which will in fact give us the equivalent of three djerdaps [hydroelectric power plant on the Danube] in Kosovo. Production and processing of coal will also go up. The Belacevac and Dobro Selo open pit mines will be expanded and new mines will be opened in keeping with the country's requirements.

The lead mining and smelting capacities will be expanded, a new plant for the electrolysis of zinc will be opened, as well as ferronickel capacities, and there will be a considerable increase in the production of raw materials for nonferrous metals.

This is not to the liking of counterrevolutionary, nationalist and irredentist elements, who do not want Kosovo to flourish like this or even more than this, in whose interest it is not that we should develop any further, but who would like to keep us in the quarantine of backwardness and all kinds of prejudices so as to be able to manipulate the Albanian people in Kosovo more easily.

Comrades, this is not our first meeting with nationalism, chauvinism and irredentism. This is not our first battle with them. They are well-known enemies of socialism and self-management. They were among the main enemies of our national liberation struggle and the revolution, a mainstay and collaborators of the Fascist occupiers. Since almost 1941, we have constantly had to face phenomena of this kind. Led by the Yugoslav Communist Party and Comrade Tito, the Albanian communists and Albanian people of Kosovo, while fighting with guns in their hands against the occupiers, were also fighting against irredentism and chauvinism as reactionary ideologies. In all the key periods of our socialist building, nationalism, irredentism and chauvinism have manifested themselves under various slogans but with one clear aim: to create discord and mistrust among our peoples and prevent the unhindered development of our socialist autonomous province in every respect.

In the hard common struggle against the occupiers and domestic traitors for brotherhood and unity, for socialism and self-management, the best sons of the Albanian, Serbian and Montenegrin peoples laid down their lives. More than 6,000 Kosovo partisans laid down their lives for this kind of socialist community, for the kind of Kosovo which we have today.

In our life we have the realization of the visions of the greatest minds of our nations and nationalities, of the finest men and fighters, such as Bora Vukmirovic, Ramiz Sadik, Emin Durak, Miladun Popovic, Mete Barjaktarija, Aca Marovic, Dzevded Doda, Trajko Gakovic and many other great figures of our revolution.

We shall not allow anyone to stain the honor of Albanians, to stain brotherhood and unity--that great achievement of our peoples. The Albanian people, the same as the Serbian, Montenegrin and all others, will guard it as the apple of its eye. This is the eternal oath taken by us communists, Tito's cofighters, of all the honest men who have freedom, equality, progress and general human progress at heart.

The Albanians of Kosovo are aware that only in a strong socialist and nonaligned Yugoslavia, in the Yugoslav community in which all the nations and nationalities are equal, will they be able to achieve their socialist class and national ideals and create a better and happier life for themselves.

During these demonstrations our enemies even tried, among other things, to stain the name of our beloved Comrade Tito with whom all our victories in the building of socialism are associated, a man who is honored and respected by all the progressive forces of the world on account of his great contribution to mankind. They tried to stain the man under whose leadership we won freedom, equality, brotherhood and unity and created all the conditions needed to build life fit for man.

With their demogagic and hostile slogans, a fistful of these miserable traitors is trying to stand up as the protector of Albanians in Kosovo and in Yugoslavia as well. Their intentions are clear. I firmly believe that the Albanians will not allow anyone to con them by false and chauvinist slogans. We all know very well the meaning of these attempted arrogant, impudent and hostile attacks and we therefore firmly condemn them.

The Kosovo students, Kosovo youth and all working people of Kosovo have firmly followed and still follow Tito's road, the road of brotherhood and unity, to build their better and happier life together with all peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia. This is why these hostile elements, although very impudent and loud-mouthed, remained isolated. They are denounced by all peoples of Kosovo and especially by Albanians.

I will also add that we know very well whose fingers are mixed up in this. The organizers of disorders violated order and peace by their vandalism and hostile chauvinist slogans and violated the laws of the SFRY. Some of them even dared to fire at our security organs.

We let everyone clearly know that every such attempt in the future will be most drastically punished. Such offenders will have to answer to a court of law. Our socialist self-managing humanism and democratism also have their limits. We cannot be lenient toward those who by all means work for the destruction of the social system and threaten our nonaligned self-managing socialist Yugoslavia.

We have already become since a long time ago, used to the slogans and behavior of bourgeois nationalism. Its destructiveness is known because its aim was always to provoke hostility and hatred among peoples.

It is interesting though that nationalism and irredentism in Kosovo are at present appearing under the cloak of some dogmatic leftwing concepts which in no way differ from hostile slogans from the period of the highest Cominform euphoria. However, regardless of the fact that they are hiding behind various quasi-Marxist slogans, these are acts of the darkest servants and agents of various intelligence centers and agencies.

Our youth, our peoples and nationalities will not allow any yielding from the determined road--from the road of strengthening our brotherhood and unity, freedom, independence, nonalignment and equality of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, Muslims and others. The achievements of the national liberation war and socialist revolution are our permanent guides. No one can divert us from this road. In this, we are all firm and united without any hesitation.

The enemy is also badly mistaken if he thinks that he can divert us from our daily struggle for the stabilization of economy and the solution of daily problems which we have. No, nobody will succeed in this.

So, we are quite clear about what is involved. We have clearly identified the hostile and counterrevolutionary forces. They have taken off their mask themselves and revealed their true identity. This is why we are all now faced with the great task of preserving and strengthening brotherhood and unity, further strengthening and consolidating confidence among the Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks and Muslims in Kosovo and strengthening their unity, brotherhood and togetherness with the peoples and nationalities of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the entire Yugoslavia.

This is our best protection and strength in the struggle against all enemies. All our honest people, all youths, students and especially communists, all our self-managing institutions, must engage all their efforts in this great task. We must all look in each other's eyes and do all we can to preserve and further develop equality, brotherhood and unity, freedom and full mutual trust.

The Albanian youth, Tito's youth, will never go astray. We, old veterans, also do not permit, nor will we ever permit, such a thing. Youth has always followed and will follow the road of self-management and socialism. Kosovo youth, as the youth of Yugoslavia as a whole, have been and will remain on Tito's road.

I appeal to all young people, all students and school children, who for any reasons took up the false slogans launched by our declared enemies, to return to their normal work and tasks--to go to school and faculties and continue their work and studies, for their good, for the good of our peoples and nationalities, so that they become, as soon as possible, useful builders of our socialist self-managing and nonaligned community.

Long live our socialist community, the SFRY!

Long live brotherhood and unity of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks and Muslims of Kosovo and their unity with all other peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

Kosovo People Support Hodza

AU042056 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Summary] "The speech of Fadilj Hodza, member of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium, to the Pristina Political Aktiv was closely followed by the working people, communists and young people in the basic organizations of associated labor, local communities and schools throughout our province, who also fully supported the speech, while simultaneously sharply condemning the hostile nationalist activity against the development and prosperity of our self-managing socialist community." Our correspondents have sent us reports from throughout the province on the achieved production results in many Kosovo collectives. Some collectives overfulfilled their norms today.

"Both among the workers of the Trepca collective as well as among other working people of Kosovska Mitrovica, Fadilj Hodza's speech met with full and absolute support. The daily papers were today simply snatched up. The same thing happened in Gnjilane commune."

SFRY Assembly on Unrest

LD031540 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Apr (TANJUG)--The SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber Committee for Internal Policy discussed at today's session information from the Federal Executive Council which was presented by Dragosljub Stavrev, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, on the political and security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo which has developed in connection with demonstrations by hostile groups who in the last few days have been trying--as a part of broader activities by reactionary forces in the country and abroad and from positions of irredentism and Albanian nationalism--to threaten the constitutional order of our socialist self-management community, to break up the brotherhood and unity of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and to undermine the basic foundations of the freedom, independence and territorial integrity of our country.

The delegates to the committee gave full support to the measures of the Federal Executive Council, the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Executive Council of the SAP of Kosovo and to the activities of the competent federal organs and organizations and other state and self-management subjects of our system of all-people's defense and social self-protection, all of which were undertaken with a view to maintaining order, peace and stability and eliminating hostile activity in the SAP of Kosovo.

The committee endorsed the directions and activities relating to control of activities of hostile groups and emphasized the need for continued full mobilization by all socialist forces in the SAP of Kosovo, the Socialist Republic of Serbia and in the country generally, in the struggle against all forms of antiselfmanagement tendencies and phenomena which hinder the rapid development of our socialist self-management community and its unity on the path to realization of Tito's ideas, which the working class and all working people and citizens and nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia have decided to accept and are realizing as their own.

Kosovo Assembly Adopts Plans

LD032324 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1935 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Pristina, 3 Apr (TANJUG)--The Executive Council of the Assembly of the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo at its session today adopted the project of the social compact on development of social activities in the province of [passage indistinct].

Considerable attention will be devoted to the preparation and publication of text in the languages of the Yugoslav nationalities in the province. The building of new college and faculty teaching capacities totalling [passage indistinct] ties totalling 18,000 square meters and pupils home capacities totalling 11,000 square meters, are planned. Thus, present student accomodation capacities will be considerably (?improved).

The Executive Council of the Kosovo Assembly also adopted the project of the social comparison development of housing in the province until 1985, planning the building of 40,400 apartments, 33,000 of these will be privately owned.

Montenegro Leadership Statement

LD031756 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1632 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Titograd, 3 Apr (TANJUG)--A joint session held by the Montenegro League of Communists Central Committee Presidium and the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro stated that hostile counterrevolutionary elements from the country and from abroad are trying to cause unrest in the ranks of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia and above all in Kosovo. They want to destabilize our country, threaten the constitutional self-managing system and the integrity of the SFRY.

Consequently it is indispensable, the statement adopted at the session says, to adopt political and administrative measures, as well as measures of social self-protection, in order to prevent any possible attempts by internal and external enemies to cause national intolerance.

FURTHER LEADERSHIP COMMENT ON PRISTINA EVENTS

Kosovo LCY

LD050822 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0748 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Text] Pristina, 5 Apr (TANJUG)--A session of the provincial committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo has been convened today. The highest organ of the Kosovo League of Communists will examine the political-security situation in the province. It is expected that the session will be addressed by Mahmut Bakali, president of the Kosovo League of Communists provincial committee.

Bakali Fixes Blame

AU060720 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 5 Apr 81

[Statement by Mahmut Bakali, president of the provincial committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, to Pristina Television on 5 April--recorded, in Albanian with Serbo-Croatian translation superimposed]

[Text] At the session of the provincial committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo tomorrow, we will discuss the problem of the political security situation in our province, which is rather difficult and complex due to hostile activities. The demonstrations and disorders which occurred recently, with their (?manifestations of vandalism) and serious consequences, were in fact well organized by internal enemies as well as supported and well coordinated by external enemies, who tried here, in our province and in our country, to set off a counterrevolution.

(?The aim) of these enemies is not the national or social well-being of the Albanians, but the destruction of our socialist self-managing system, the breakup of our unity and the overthrow of Socialist Yugoslavia in the interest of reactionary forces in the world.

The enemies indeed succeeded through demagogic and hostile slogans to deceive a number of youths in schools, students and a very small number of citizens, and to bring them out in the streets to demonstrate.

In our province, we--particularly the Albanian population--are facing historical responsibility, responsibility to our people and to all the peoples and nationalities of Kosovo, as well as to all the peoples of Yugoslavia and beyond. We have a responsibility to peace and security in this part of the Balkans. We have a responsibility to combat at any cost, with our maturity, vigilance, determination and action, any further activities of the enemies, and not to allow--tomorrow or at any time afterwards--anybody, any student, any worker, any citizen or peasant to be deceived by demagogic slogans and accept the enemy's call to participate in demonstrations or other disorders.

As president of the provincial committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, and at the same time as president of the Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, I inform you that all of us in our province, and primarily the League of Communists of Kosovo as well as all other organized socialist forces, all the workers, our organs and our entire system of defense and self-protection are determined and will take all measures with the aim of not allowing the demonstrations or other disorders to continue tomorrow or ever again. We will not allow anyone to disturb the public peace and order any more, and will not allow anyone to perpetrate vandalism against social property any more. We will do this with the aim of securing peace tomorrow and in the future, overcoming this very grave situation as soon as possible, and continuing our normal life in normal conditions, in work and in study, in our creative work for our better future and for our prosperity.

Dragosavac Assesses Situation

LD041703 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1348 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Apr (TANJUG)--Dr Dusan Dragosavac, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, yesterday talked to the directors and chief and executive editors of political-informative newspapers about the international and Yugoslav political situation.

Speaking to journalists about the current political situation in our country and the world, Dr Dusan Dragosavac particularly dwelt on certain recent events in Kosovo, which he explained in the broad context of the international and Yugoslav situation. Circumstances are such, Dragosavac stressed, as to demand from all of us, and especially from the League of Communists, even greater action capability, more serious behavior and a measured approach to activity.

In the view of Dr Dusan Dragosavac, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the international economic, political and military situation is very difficult. The world is in a crisis from which one cannot see the way out. All countries, though circumstances differ from one to another, are weighed down by complex economic and other problems. The gap between the developed and underdeveloped continues to widen. The crisis of detente is obvious. There is no real dialogue between the superpowers and blocs. Instead, strategic military strongholds and bases continue to expand. Terrorism and neofascism have spread in various parts of the world and racism still holds powerful positions. In some countries even clericalism has not abandoned the methods of reactionary activity.

All this, according to Dragosavac, is happening not only in places very distant from us, but also nearer than that. We feel pressures on our country as well. On the other hand, we are still facing economic problems, because we are a class society, which is to say that we are not free from conflict. Various kinds of clericalism are also active on our soil and we have not rid ourselves of the well-known remnants of nationalism either.

For all these reasons we must be fully aware in the course of our work and behavior and ceaselessly display vigilance.

Dr Dusan Dragosavac said that in our country we have for quite a long time now promoted criticism, whose exponents are mainly our political and expert cadres. In this criticism, however, excessive stress is often placed on the so-called black spots in our everyday life and there is also much generalizing. In this there is obvious one-sidedness in the treatment of, for instance, the medium-term plan, investments and other key questions of our development, an uncritical attitude to oneself and a critical attitude to others, which gives the impression that in individual areas development has been slowed down. Dragosavac pointed out that we need qualitative Marxist criticism which, apart from clarifying the state of affairs, will also make possible the appropriate solutions for the given situations.

For example, in our country, Dragosavac stressed, we have had an intensive development of the overall educational system, particularly of higher education. Such an expansion of education has been caused by the general speedy development of the whole country, including Kosovo. However, there is no economy which could cope in the coming period with the present structure of educational institutions. In this sphere our society will continue to encounter many problems, so that we will have to persevere in our work on educational reform. The composition of pupils and students in the republics, provinces and regions is different. In Kosovo this composition is unfavorable and the economies of Yugoslavia and Kosovo will have to make special efforts to absorb all cadres leaving the universities.

According to Dragosavac, the struggle against nationalism will continue to be topical here. The questions of national affirmation and equality of all the nations and nationalities is of particular interest to communists, who promptly have to recognize and curb their own nationalisms and thus all together do the same in the case of any nationalism in general. Experience shows us that we have always been harmed when we have neglected moments which have appeared to us to be historic. We have solved in the best possible way the problem of nations, national republics and, within the framework of the socialist republic of Serbia, of autonomous provinces. It would, however, be illusory to think that we have solved all this perfectly and for all time and that there will be no intranational problems. Due to historic heritage and the present situation, both in the country and in general, we have to keep a constant vigil over these questions. By way of further development of self-management as a class-social element, we are successfully solving the national question and thus continually linking the class, social and national components.

Dragosavac added that in the past we had come face to face with nationalistic slogans and that we are continuing to do so. We should continually struggle against these slogans. During the latest demonstrations in Kosovo there were some clearly counterrevolutionary slogans with irredentist contents. In settling accounts with such aspirations, regardless of whether they are irredentist or nationalistic, we have to be uncompromising. Above all these aspirations threaten the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia. Full equality of all the nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia is a sine qua non of its independence and integrity.

Speaking about the present situation in Kosovo the secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, Dr Dusan Dragosavac, stressed that there had been some surprise at the way in which nationalism and irredentism had manifested themselves. Naturally, nobody had the illusion that there were no nationalism and irredentism but nobody expected them to be expressed in such an aggressive way. In the case of the first demonstrations (11 March), the cause of which had been "bad food" in the student cafeteria, it was soon realized that they were permeated by other motives. During subsequent disorders counterrevolutionary demands were openly voiced.

It became evident that the enemy was organized and prepared for the demonstrations. *Condemnation of such demonstrations* by the working people and citizens of Kosovo has been extensive, but they have needed some time to get organized for a more decisive settlement of accounts with the enemy.

On the basis of the newly arisen situation the Kosovo leadership has taken relevant measures which such a situation demands. Our society is after all both capable and ready to use all constitutional means for the protection of the system which it is unswervingly building on the foundations of self-management and equality of all our nations and nationalities, along the path on which Tito's thought and Tito's work are leading us. Dragosavac pointed out that there is now a real danger that in addition to the manifested Albanian nationalism here and there another kind of nationalism might also come to the fore either on account of the historical roots of nationalism or on account of the chauvinist attitude of individuals or on account of the sensitivity of everybody when Yugoslavia's integrity is at stake. Such a possibility imposes the need for a clear identification of the exponents of Albanian and all other kinds of nationalism and irredentism. In all this one must always bear in mind that nationalism is not to be fought with nationalism.

These events have also been discussed by the SFRY Presidency and the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. They have given their political assessment and each of them, within its jurisdiction, has taken relevant measures. The actions to normalize the situation taken by the leadership of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the Socialist Republic of Serbia have been particularly helpful.

Availing himself of this opportunity of talking to journalists, the secretary of the Presidium also pointed out the need for greater caution regarding the campaign waged in the world for human rights, because not infrequently this campaign is also used to destabilize individual countries. There is no country in the world which has resolved these issues fully and ideally. We have our criteria about this and nobody can reproach the humane nature of our criteria because Yugoslavia, in implementing actual human rights, has done most under the given historical conditions and, therefore, we should not allow ourselves to hesitate because of criteria of others. Referring to some demands for changes in the criminal code and in the status of prisoners in our country, Dragosavac stressed that there is no country which does not have similar caluses and the majority of those who find fault with those legislative provisions of ours have provisions which are incomparably more severe. We have neither reasons nor need to change anything fundamentally in this and we are resolved to adhere consistently to our positive norms and to our system of social values.

The difficult nature of the international situation, in Dr Dusan Dragosavac's assessment, demands more responsible behavior by communists because that situation is also reflected in the circumstances within our country. We must resolve economic and other difficulties in a more organized manner and communists must set an example in this task, Dr Dusan Dragosavac concluded.

BRIEFS

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION--In February 1981 Yugoslavia's industrial production fell 0.6 percent short of the country's industrial production in the same month of last year. However, the total industrial production in January and February increased by 0.5 percent as compared with the same period last year because it increased in January by 1.6 percent as compared with January of last year. In February this year Vojvodina, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia increased their industrial production by 4, 3 and 2 percent, respectively, as compared with February of last year. Croatia's industrial production in that month was the same as in February of last year, whereas the industrial production in Serbia proper, Kosovo, Slovenia and Montenegro fell by 2, 2, 4 and 6 percent, respectively, as compared with February of last year. [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Mar 81 p 1 AU]